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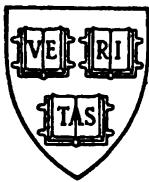
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# Studies in Philology

A Quarterly Journal Published Under the  
Direction of the Philological Club  
of the University of North  
Carolina

## EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

EDWIN GREENLAW, *Managing Editor*,  
CHARLES W. BAIN, WILLIAM M. DEY, GEORGE HOWE.

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1915

CHAPEL HILL  
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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CHAPEL HILL  
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V V I N E,  
B E E R E,  
A N D  
A L E.  
T O G E T H E R B Y  
T H E E A R E S.

---

*A Dialogue,*

Written first in Dutch by *Gallobel-*  
*gicus*, and faithfully translated out of the  
original Copie, by *Mercurius Brittan-*  
*icus*, for the benefit of his  
Nation.

HORAT. *Sicci omnia in dura Denu proposita.*



L O N D O N,

Printed by A. M. for John Grose, and are to bee  
sold at his Shop, at Farnham's Gate  
in Holbeme. 1629.

VOLUME XII

JANUARY, 1915

NUMBER 1

# STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL PUBLISHED UNDER THE  
DIRECTION OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

## Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY INTERLUDE

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

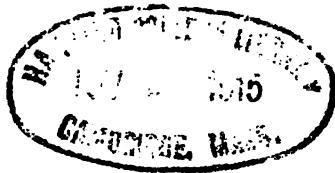
By

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD, PH.D.

*(Associate Professor of English in the University  
of North Carolina)*

CHAPEL HILL  
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## PREFACE

The little interlude or debate here studied and reprinted has been passed over by students of the Elizabethan drama almost in silence. It has been thought of, apparently, as a mere dramatic oddity, filling no recognized niche in the structure of literary history. And yet the piece deserves to be remembered, if only as a curious specimen of the wit of other days. It has, moreover, a wealth of contemporary allusion of a peculiarly interesting kind, illustrating particularly the tavern manners of our ancestors and the lore and language of their drinking. The piece is full of the stock witticisms, the ephemeral turns of phrase which were the modern polite conversations of those days.<sup>1</sup>

And finally the dialogue is after all not quite *sui generis*, but possesses a hitherto unrecognized significance in its relation to the academic drama and especially to the minor entertainments in vogue at Cambridge University. Definite evidence that *Wine, Beere and Ale* was itself written for performance at Cambridge is lacking, though it is by no means improbable that such was the case. But its immediate literary connection with the little group of Cambridge plays among which I have placed it can hardly be questioned.

This connection is clearer in the first edition of the piece than in the second. I have chosen, however, to reprint the latter because of the interest of the added material. The differences, which are considerable, between the first and second editions are clearly indicated in the footnotes. The third edition differs from the second chiefly in matters of spelling and punctuation; variants of this sort, I have not thought it necessary to record. In a few cases where I have corrected obvious errors of typography in the edition of 1630, the changes have been duly noted at the bottom of the page. In collating the third edition I have made use of a copy in the possession of Mr. Alfred C. Potter of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who has very generously put his extensive collection of tobacco literature at my disposal.

<sup>1</sup> For example, Toast's riddling description of Nutmeg: "round and sound and all of a colour"; Wine's excellent proverb: "At Dancing and at Foot-ball, all fellowes"; and Ale's "Gentlemen are you so simple to fight for the wall. Why the wall's my Landlords," a joke as threadbare in its day, no doubt, as any of the stale witticisms of society recorded by Dean Swift.



## INTRODUCTION

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### I. EDITIONS AND REPRINTS

“Wine, Beere, and Ale, Together by the Eares. A Dialogue, Written first in Dutch by Gallobelgicus, and faithfully translated out of the originall Copie, by Mercurius Britannicus, for the benefite of his Nation. Horat. *Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit*. London, Printed by A. M. for John Grove, and are to bee sold at his Shop, at Furnivals Inne Gate in Holborne. 1629.” Such, in full, is the title page of the first edition of the dialogue reprinted in the following pages. The volume is extremely rare; indeed, I know of but a single copy, a small octavo in the British Museum, formerly in the possession of the Duke of Roxburghe.<sup>1</sup> It has never, to my knowledge, been reprinted.

A second edition, “much enlarged,” appeared in 1630 with the title “Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco Contending for Superiority,” and it is upon this that the present text is based. The revision consisted in the addition of the sprightly rôle of Tobacco and in two considerable excisions from the earlier text. Of this second edition copies are to be found in the British Museum, in the Bodleian, and in private hands. It was reprinted substantially without change for the same bookseller in 1658, adorned with a wood cut representing a tavern scene.

A reprint of the second edition was published in 1854 by J. O. Halliwell in his *Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, without collation of the first or third editions or other critical apparatus.<sup>2</sup> Halliwell’s volume was of limited circulation and is now very rare. The dialogue may, therefore, fairly be called inaccessible to the modern reader.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Roxburghe arms are stamped on the fly leaf, and the book is listed in the sale catalogue of the library of John, third duke, arranged by G. and W. Nichol, London, 1812. The passages in the text of the first edition which were omitted in the edition of 1630, are carefully indicated in this copy in ink, presumably for the direction of the printer in setting the second edition. It is clear from the typographical similarities of the two that the compositor had the printed text before him.

<sup>2</sup> Halliwell makes no mention of the first edition. He remarks that he has heard of the existence of an earlier reprint but has been unable to find any trace of it. Possibly the edition of 1658 was the one referred to.

<sup>3</sup> *Wine, Beere, and Ale* is entered as a ballad, in a list with others, to Francis Coules, Jan. 24, 1630. *Stationers’ Register*, ed. Arber, IV, 236. This can hardly refer to the second edition of our dialogue, which bore a different title. The entry may record the transfer of publishers’ rights in the first edition or, what is more likely, the publication or transfer of a ballad using the same material.

## II. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The ascription of *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, on the title page of the first edition, to Gallobelgicus and Mercurius Brittanicus conveys no trustworthy information regarding either its authorship or its source. The names are obviously mere humorous adaptations of the pseudonyms used by the publishers of two contemporary news books; *Mercurius Brittanicus* being the first English newspaper, started by Thomas Archer in 1625, and *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, a Latin review of continental affairs, which had been issued at half yearly intervals from Cologne since 1594 and which circulated widely in England as well as abroad. That the play is no translation from the Dutch but an original product of English wit is clear enough from the text itself, with its abundance of purely English allusions and its incessant rattle of English puns.<sup>4</sup>

But while these names afford no clew to the authorship of the play, they are of some slight assistance in determining its date. The first number of *Mercurius Brittanicus* was issued February 23, 1624-25; the last extant number is dated February 8, 1625-26, but the periodical probably continued to run until the end of the year. The title page of *Wine, Beere, and Ale* must, therefore, have been composed not earlier than 1625, for, although the pseudonym *Mercurius Brittanicus* had been used as early as 1605 by Joseph Hall in his *Mundus Alter et Idem*, the association of the name in the present instance with *Gallobelgicus* makes it apparent that Archer's corranto is here alluded to. Unfortunately, this establishes no date for the dialogue itself, since the title page may well have been written when the play was prepared for publication, in or before the year 1629. In the second edition the pseudonyms were dropped.<sup>5</sup>

A date not earlier than 1615 is established by the fact that *Worke for Cutters and Exchange Ware at Second Hand*, which, as I have

<sup>4</sup> The character of Sugar as an attendant on Wine would have had no point outside of England. See note to line 5. John Taylor's *Drinke and Welcome*, which has some affinities with the present dialogue, likewise alleges the authority of a Dutch original. (London 1637; reprinted Ashbee, *Occasional Facsimile Reprints*, no. 17.) Dutch, in the latter instance at least, means German, and it is doubtless the German fondness for the malt liquors that accounts in both cases for the ascription. Dr. Harold De Wolf Fuller, who has been so kind as to look up the matter, informs me that he has been unable to find any evidence for a Dutch original of *Wine, Beere, and Ale*.

<sup>5</sup> See J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism to the Founding of the Gazette*. 1908, p. 26.

shown below,<sup>6</sup> served as models for *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, were published and probably acted in that year.

Internal evidence would point to the years 1624-1626. There are clear allusions to the statute against drunkenness, first passed in 1603. This act was made perpetual in 1623-4 and enlarged shortly after the accession of Charles in 1625.<sup>7</sup> The allusions may well have been prompted by one or the other of these confirmations of the law.

A reference to the rise in the price of wines would also, apparently, fit this date.<sup>8</sup> According to the tables of Rogers, the price of claret and sack, after remaining fairly stationary for several years, rose from 2s and 3s 4d in the preceding year to 2s 4d and 3s 8d the gallon in 1621-2, went down again in 1623-4, and rose permanently in 1624-5. A still further increase in the price of sack and a marked advance for the sweet wines is recorded for 1627-29.

Finally, the deliberate and uncalled for vilification of tobacco in the first edition<sup>9</sup> suggests that the dialogue was probably composed while James I's well-known aversion to the herb was still in the ascendant. The prejudice of the reigning monarch had been similarly flattered by Daniel in *The Queen's Arcadia*<sup>10</sup> (1605) and by Jonson in the *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies*<sup>11</sup> (1621). The king is said to have been deeply interested in the tobacco disputations which took place at Oxford on the occasion of the same royal visit which saw the performance of Daniel's masque. If *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, in its earlier form, was prepared as an interlude for the entertainment of the king, whether at Cambridge<sup>12</sup> or elsewhere, the tobacco passage would be sufficiently explained. In the second edition the author or reviser appears to have no scruple about giving the tobacco devil his due. The intruder is, to be sure, violently disgusting to the other characters

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 14 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See note to lines 472 and 325. We may infer from the latter reference that the statute or its enforcement was of recent date.

<sup>8</sup> See note to line 121.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 25 ff. of text. Observe that Wine's defence of the weed is purely satirical: "Why, when a man hath not the wit wherewith to deliver his meaning in good words, this being taken dues presently help him to spit it out gentleman-like." Note also that Sugar has the last word.

<sup>10</sup> *Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. II, p. 253 (lines 1110 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> *Works*, ed. Cunningham, vol. VII, p. 394. The verses about tobacco do not occur in the manuscript but are found in the earliest editions.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps for his last visit, in 1625, as I have suggested below, p. 19.

and his manners are unquestionably bad. But he speaks effectively in his own behalf and succeeds at length in winning recognition. In one passage in the second edition the reviser seems to be making fun of the late poet-prince and pretty clearly alludes to the passing away of the royal ban on smoking.<sup>13</sup>

### III. HISTORY OF THE MATERIAL

The general theme of the present dialogue—a contention between personified beverages—is a very old one in the literature of Europe. The tradition reaches back at least as far as the Goliardic poetry of the twelfth century. In the middle ages, however, the dispute usually involved a comparison not of related liquors, as here, but of the antagonistic and opposite beverages of wine and water. The contest between these two irreconcilable enemies was waged in a hundred forms in practically all the languages of western Europe, and it has continued in French and German popular tradition to the present day.<sup>14</sup> An English nursery rhyme from Devonshire, adapted from a German folksong, is clearly the descendant of the mediæval disputation, but this, so far as I know, is the only appearance of the wine and water material on English soil, though, of course, English versions, particularly in ballad form, may have existed.

*Wine, Beere, and Ale* bears little specific relation to the typical debate of wine and water; the arguments and motives which it has in common with the continental versions are only such as would be likely to develop independently, given the subject of a contention among drinks. Still, considering the fact that both Wine and Water appear as persons in the contention, it seems reasonable to count our play as belonging to the common European tradition.

The existence of certain variations in the material which more or less closely approximate those of our debate makes this connection more apparent. There are, for example, a number of poems in which not Wine and Water but the different wines contend. And in one instance,<sup>15</sup> after the controversy of the wines, Water appears in order

<sup>13</sup> Lines 633 ff: "I am in fauour, and am growne to be the delight of poets and princes." etc.

<sup>14</sup> See Hanford, "The Medieval Debate between Wine and Water" in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVIII, 3, (1913).

<sup>15</sup> *Le Disputoison du Vin et de l'Iaue*, Jubinal, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 293; Wright. *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*. 299 ff.

to plead his cause against them all. The matter is referred to Cupid as a connoisseur, who makes peace by declaring that each Wine has its particular use and virtue but that Water, as a common necessity, deserves to be held in highest honor. With this decision may be compared the verdict of Parson Water in the present dialogue, allowing to each of the liquors its "singularitie."

In a few mediaeval debates Wine contends with other beverages. And finally there are two Latin pieces, representatives perhaps of a much older tradition,<sup>16</sup> in which Wine and Beer, the main antagonists in *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, though they do not contend in person, are contrasted much after the fashion of a debate. In the first of these, a Goliardic *Altercatio vini et cervisiae*<sup>17</sup> of the twelfth century, the writer, after bespeaking our attention to the *iurgia* of beer and wine, presents the causes of the two liquors in turn, closing with an emphatic pronouncement against the "daughter of straw" and in favor of the nobler liquor. The second Latin poem or pair of poems in which a comparison of wine and beer constitutes the theme is a *Versus in commendatione vini* attached to a *Responsio ad quemdam contra cervisiam*,<sup>18</sup> both ascribed to Peter of Blois (died c. 1200). In the first the poet lauds wine by contrast with beer, describing in detail the effects of each; the *Responsio* is evidently a reply to some poem which turned the tables on Peter's *Versus* by praising beer at the expense of wine. The points made in the comparison are, naturally and inevitably, much the same as those in the *Altercatio*, described above, and in *Wine, Beere, and Ale*.

Coming to English literature contemporary with our dialogue of *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, we shall find comparison of wine and the malt

<sup>16</sup> A Greek epigram by the Emperor Julian contrasts Celtic beer with wine. (*Works*, Ed. Hertlein, p. 611). The former beverage is declared to have no title to the name of Bacchus. "Beer has the odor of a goat while wine has that of nectar. The Gauls made beer in default of grapes. It is the son of Ceres not of Dionysus." The traditional prejudice against beer appears again in the Latin epigram of Henri d' Avranches, quoted below, note to line 291, and in Henri d' Andeli's *Bataille des Vins*, where a priest excommunicates beer from the fellowship of the wines.

"S'escommenlia la cerveise  
Qui estoit fete dela Oise,  
En Flandres et en Engleterre.  
(*Oeuvres de Henri d' Andeli*, ed. Heron, p. 29.)

<sup>17</sup> Reprinted by Bömer in *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, 49 (1907-8), 161.

<sup>18</sup> Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 207, col. 1155.

liquors not uncommon. Thus in the ballad "Sack for my Money,"<sup>19</sup> of the time of James I, the rivalry of wine and beer is implied throughout.

"We'l sing and laugh, and stoutly quaff.  
And quite renounce the Alehouse;  
For Ale and Beer are both now dear,  
The price is rais'd in either."

The excellency of wine over ale and beer is also maintained by Henry Lawes in a later lyric,<sup>20</sup> and by Thomas Randolph in *Aristippus*. Nor were the humbler liquors quite without their champions. John Taylor, the Water Poet, thus deplores the present neglect of their homelier virtues:

"Bacchus is ador'd and deified  
And we Hispanialized and Frenchifide,  
Whil'st Noble Native Ale and Beere's hard fate  
Are like old Almanacks, quite out of date."<sup>21</sup>

And Joseph Beaumont makes ale speak in its own defense in his poem entitled "An Answer of Ale to the Challenge of Sack."<sup>22</sup> Water also enters into the controversy in Taylor's *Drinke and Welcome*, where it is exalted above ale, wine, and beer, though each of these liquors is elaborately praised each for its special excellence. Beer, because of its supposedly exotic character, suffers by contrast with ale at the hands of Randolph (if the piece be his) in a ballad entitled "The High and Mighty Commendation of a Pot of Good Ale."<sup>23</sup>

"Beer is a stranger, a Dutch upstart, come,  
Whose credit with us sometimes is but small;  
But in records of the Empire of Rome,  
The old Catholic drink is a pot of good ale."

With the exception of *Aristippus*, which has a special relation to our dialogue and is to be considered later, none of these pieces is, strictly speaking, in debate form. They afford the material, however, and

<sup>19</sup> Collier, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 177; *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, VI, 319.

<sup>20</sup> Sandys, *Festive Songs* (Percy Society), xiii. Cf. also xliv.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted by Bickerdyke, *Curiosities of Ale and Beer*, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Bickerdyke, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 662.

show a tendency to personify the rival liquors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the question of the relative merits of the beverages should, under the influence of other debates, have flowered into a dramatized dispute.<sup>24</sup>

The tobacco episode, added in the second edition, has behind it a fiercer and more novel controversy. Ever since the introduction of the herb into Europe its merits and demerits had been hotly canvassed by a hundred pens. Learned physicians wrote disquisitions on its medicinal value. Monarchs lost their dignity while inveighing against its vileness. The history of this quarrel is too extensive and too familiar to be recorded here.<sup>25</sup> There are, however, a number of individual tobacco documents which deserve special consideration because of their approximation in one way or another to the present debate.

Tobacco not infrequently appears in seventeenth century literature *in propria persona*. Thus in *Lingua*, Tobacco makes an elaborate speech in praise of his own virtues. The herb is constantly associated with alcoholic liquors in the literature of the time, as it was, of course, in life, and this association was emphasized by the common use of the term "drink" as applied to the taking of tobacco. Ale and tobacco are praised together in Ravenscroft's *Brief Discourse of Music* (1614). Barnabe Riche, in his *Honestie of this Age*, notes that drinking and smoking almost invariably go together, "for it is a commodity that is now as vendible in every taverne, inne and ale-house, as eyther wine, ale, or beare."

It is natural enough, then, that tobacco, the "dry drink," should appear in literature as a rival of the standard beverages. A ballad in *Wit's Recreation* (1640), entitled "The Tryumph of Tobacco over Sack

<sup>24</sup> "A Dialogue between Claret and Darby Ale; A Poem considered in an accidental conversation between two gentlemen" was printed for E. Richardson in 1691. See Marchant, *In Praise of Ale*, London, 1888, p. 434, for a reprint.

<sup>25</sup> See Arber, *English Reprints, Works of James I*, 81 ff: *On the Introduction and Early Use of Tobacco In England*.

and Ale,"<sup>26</sup> may well be a recollection of the second form of our dialogue. An earlier and closer approach to the material and form of our debate is to be found in the antimasque of the *Masque of Flowers*,<sup>27</sup> performed at Gray's Inn, 1613-14. Here the liquors are represented by Silenus, who enters accompanied by a wine cooper, a vintner's boy, and a brewer; while the cause of tobacco is championed by Kawasha and his attendants—a skipper, a fencer, a pedler, and a barber. The two leaders jibe at each other and praise themselves in the usual debate manner.

Silanus: Kawasha comes in Majestie,  
Was never such a God as he;  
He is come from a farre countrey  
To make our nose a chimney.

Kawasha: The wine takes the contrary way,  
To get into the hood;  
But good tobacco makes no stay  
But seizeth where it should.

As in *Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco*, the contestants at length conclude by making peace and joining in a dance.

A thorough canvass of seventeenth-century tobacco literature might yield other precedents for our debate; but for the direct suggestion of the rôle of Tobacco in the second edition of *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, we need go no further than the edition of 1629, where the qualities of the weed are made the subject of a discussion between Wine and Sugar.<sup>28</sup>

"Nay, soft by your leaves,  
Tobacco bereaves  
You both of the garland: forbear it:  
You are two to one,  
Yet Tobacco alone  
Is like both to win it and wear it  
• • • • •  
For all their bravado  
It is Trinidado,  
That both their noses will wipe  
Of the praises they desire,  
Unless they conspire  
To sing to the tune of his fife."

<sup>26</sup> Reprinted Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, II, 740-1 and H. A. Evans, *English Masques*, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>27</sup> See footnote on pp. 25 ff. of text.

## IV. RELATION OF WINE, BEERE, AND ALE TO CERTAIN CAMBRIDGE ENTERTAINMENTS

Apart from its interest as an embodiment in English of the ancient strife of the liquors, *Wine, Beere, and Ale* possesses a hitherto unobserved significance, arising from its close connection with a little group of debate plays on similar subjects, all of which we know to have been written for performance at the University of Cambridge. This connection, which I have already barely indicated in a previous article, I wish now to consider in some detail.

1. *Lingua*. The earliest of the Cambridge debate plays in question is *Lingua or the Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*, an elaborate drama composed by Thomas Tomkis of Trinity College, Cambridge, author of *Albumazar*,<sup>29</sup> and published in 1607. The precise date of the original production of this piece is uncertain, but there can be no doubt that it was written for academic performance in the early years of the century, and it is probable that it was revived at a somewhat later date.

There is a general resemblance in the theme and in the nature of the *dramatis personae* between this play and *Wine, Beere, and Ale*. *Lingua*, however, has an elaborate plot, while our piece is little more than a dialogue. The scene in *Lingua* is Microcosmus, the kingdom of man's mind and body. *Lingua*, who stands for the faculty of speech, stirs up a dissension among the five senses, by means of which she may prosecute her own claim to be enrolled among their number. To this end she allows them to find a robe and crown inscribed like Paris's apple of discord—"to the most worthy." The senses at once fall to quarrelling and prepare to do battle, *Visus* and *Auditus* on the one side, *Tactus* and *Gustus* on the other, with *Olfactus* standing neutral but ready to join the victor. The case is at length submitted to the arbitration of *Communis Sensus*, who, after the senses have appeared before him in a pageant illustrating the joys that each can give, decides in favor of *Visus* but consoles the others by awarding them various privileges. *Lingua*, unlike *Tobacco* under somewhat similar circumstances, is refused admission to the ranks of the senses,

<sup>29</sup> Tomkis's authorship, which had been conjectured by Fleay on the ground of similarity in style with *Albumazar*, is proved conclusively by the ascription of the play to Tomkis in a list of plays belonging to Sir John Harrington, published by Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 7, IX, 382-3.

except in the case of women, who shall hereafter be said to enjoy a sixth sense, that of speech.

This decision offers a special point of resemblance with *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, for, just as *Communis Sensus* defines the particular place and use of each of the senses, so Parson Water assigns to each of the liquors its "singularity," as ale for the country, beer for the city, wine for the court. Tobacco, an upstart intruder, demanding a place in the established triumvirate of drinks, plays, as I have suggested, a similar rôle to that of Lingua in her relation to the senses.<sup>30</sup> It is noteworthy, also, that Bacchus and Small Beer appear in the train of Gustus, while Tobacco, as Olfactus's chief witness, extols his own virtues with as little modesty as his namesake in our play.

2. *Worke for Cutlers, or a Merry Dialogue betweene Sword, Rapier, and Dagger, and Exchange Ware at Second Hand, or a Merry Dialogue betweene Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe.*<sup>31</sup> These companion pieces, published separately in 1615 and each bearing on its title page the words "acted in a shewe at the famous Universitie of Cambridge" afford a much more striking parallel to *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, appearing, indeed, to have served as the models for the later piece. Like *Wine, Beere, and Ale* they are properly debates—wit combats, wars of words, containing only a semblance of action but making up for this deficiency by an unbelievable number of puns and "hits." The following is a sample passage:

"*Sword.* Nay *Rapier*, come forth, come forth, I say, Ile give thee a crown, though it be but a crackt one: what wilt not? Art so hard to be drawn forth, *Rapier*?"

*Rapier.* S'foot thou shalt know that *Rapier* dares enter: nay *Back-Sword*."

The striking similarity of these three debates in style and spirit suggests very forcibly the idea that they may all be the work of a single hand. Against this we have the probability that *Worke for Cutlers* and *Exchange Ware* were written some ten years earlier than *Wine, Beere, and Ale*. This, however, is not, on the evidence given

<sup>30</sup> The initial situation in *Lingua* was doubtless derived from Giorgio Alione's *Comedia de L'Omoe e de' sei Cinque Sentimenti* (1521), where the part of Lingua is taken by Il Cul. See Hanford, "The Debate Element in the Elizabethan Drama," *Kittridge Anniversary Papers*, 455.

<sup>31</sup> Reprinted, Charles Hindley, *The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, 1871-1873, vol. II. A critical edition of *Worke for Cutlers* has been published by Albert F. Sieveking, London, 1904.

above, by any means certain; and if it were, it would not entirely disprove identity of authorship.

But if the author of *Wine, Beere, and Ale* did not himself write the earlier dialogues he certainly imitated them closely. The correspondence which we have observed in style extends also to matters of structure. Taking our text as it stands in the first edition, the principal personages match the contestants of the other pieces with sufficient exactness. They are relatives and rivals among liquors just as Sword and Rapier, Band and Cuffe are relatives and rivals in arms and haberdashery. The quarrel for precedence is carried on in much the same way, beginning with angry words and leading up (as in the earlier debates) to a challenge. The issue of a duel is avoided in all three cases by the intervention of a mediator, some character akin to but not quite a rival of the contestants—in the one play Dagger, in another Band, in the third Water. These personages render parallel decisions in almost identical terms.<sup>22</sup> A song in each case follows the reconciliation of the rivals.

It is evident, then, that these three debates were modelled on one and the same plan. But whereas *Exchange Ware*, and *Work for Cullers* manifestly correspond at every point, *Wine, Beere, and Ale* shows an effort to elaborate the material throughout. Thus to the principals, Wine, Beere, and Ale, are added their servants, Sugar, Tost, and Nutmeg, who enjoy a preliminary skirmish before the main dispute. These figures were doubtless suggested by the mention of Collar as Ruffe's "man" in *Exchange Ware*. A slight complication is secured in *Wine, Beere, and Ale* by making Sugar, like Lingua, the mischievous instigator of the broil. The number of principals is also increased from two to three. Wine and Beere begin the brawl and carry it on for some eighty lines in precisely the manner of the earlier debates. Ale, entering just after the challenge, appears at first to be about to play the pacific rôle of Band and Dagger, but being already warmed by the mischief-loving Sugar, he is easily drawn into the

<sup>22</sup> "Well then, Ruff shall be the most accounted of among the clergy, for he is the graver fellow: although I know the Puritans will not greatly care for him; he hath such a deal of sitting, and they love standing better. As for you, Band, you shall be made the most of amongst the young gallants: although sometimes they shall use Ruff for a fashion, but not otherwise," etc. *Exchange Ware*. Cf. the decision of Water in the text, lines 373 ff., Dagger, in *Work for Cullers*, assigns Sword to the camp and Rapier to the court.

controversy and the quarrel becomes triangular. The introduction of Water therefore becomes necessary to settle the dispute. The final song is followed by a dance in character.

Thus far had the process of elaboration gone in the first form of the play. In the revision it was carried a step farther by the addition of the ludicrous figure of Tobacco with his swaggering manners and his tedious affectations. The idea, suggested perhaps by *Lingua*, of making this alien and upstart stimulant disrupt the newly established peace and force his way into the comradeship of his betters was an extremely happy and successful one; and it was no doubt largely because of this episode that the second version of our dialogue achieved popularity.

3. *Aristippus or the Jovial Philosopher*. The Cambridge affiliations of *Wine, Beere, and Ale* are further strengthened by comparison with Thomas Randolph's *Aristippus*, the earliest of the farcical interludes composed by Randolph for representation at Cambridge. Here the resemblance is not one of form but of subject matter. The enmity of the drinks, which is the theme of *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, is central also in *Aristippus*, though it is somewhat disguised by a more elaborate setting. Simplicissimus comes in his innocence to sit at the feet of the famous Aristippus. He finds the old philosopher's academy a tavern and the burden of his discourse the praise of wine. "If I had a thousand sons," said Falstaff, "the first humane principle I would teach them should be, to forswear thin potations and to addict themselves to sack." Aristippus is true to the letter and spirit of this creed. As a dramatic figure, indeed, he owes not a little to his jovial predecessor. A wild man, the untutored representative of beer and ale, enters to defend their cause against the philosopher's abuse, but the "malt heretic" is driven out and later comes to confess his error.

Varied and original as are the elements in Randolph's composition, it is difficult to believe that he did not derive a suggestion from *Wine, Beere, and Ale*. Specific resemblances between the two dialogues are recorded in the notes to the present volume.<sup>33</sup> The most striking of these is the use by both Randolph and the author of our debate of a Latin epigram from an obscure mediæval author.<sup>34</sup> How widely

<sup>33</sup> See notes to lines 118, 121, 291, 294, 378, 472, 479.

<sup>34</sup> See note to line 381.

these verses were current there is no means of knowing. They are quoted in Camden's *Britannia* and in DuCange's *Glossarium* but I have not met with them elsewhere. The translations of the lines in the two plays are different and apparently independent. The most reasonable assumption is that the quotation was familiar at this time among Cambridge students and was used in the one dialogue because it had been used in the other. Randolph was presumably the borrower, since *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, as we have seen, was manifestly modelled on an earlier pair of Cambridge interludes. It has occurred to me that Randolph might possibly be the author of both works—he is said to have been very active as an undergraduate in getting up student entertainments—but this conclusion seems on the whole unlikely. *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, though clever, is quite lacking in the verve and extravagance which characterize all of Randolph's undoubted comedies. It is far more probable that he had either seen the piece performed in his early years at Cambridge (he matriculated July, 1624) or became acquainted with it immediately after its publication. *Aristippus* was entered on the Stationers' Register March 26, 1630. As the Cambridge session had been suspended since November owing to the plague, the play, if acted at the University, must have been written at least as early as 1629, the year in which *Wine, Beere, and Ale* was published in its earlier form.

While there is no conclusive evidence to show that *Wine, Beere, and Ale* was written for performance at Cambridge University, such a supposition is, in view of what has already been said regarding its relation to dialogues known to have been of Cambridge origin, very probable. It is a fact that nothing so closely resembling this group—nothing so like the acted debate of John Heywood's time,—is to be found elsewhere in the Elizabethan or Stuart drama. Debate material and motives do, indeed, appear with some frequency, but these motives are usually incidental to the play as a whole. In masques, where the contention sometimes constitutes the framework of the piece, the subject is generally allegorical and didactic—the opposition of mythological persons, of virtues and vices, or of other personified abstractions. Perhaps the nearest akin in form and substance to the Cambridge group are the Oxford debate play, *Bellum Grammaticale*,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See Johannes Bolte, *Andrea Guareschi's Bellum Grammaticale und seine Nachahmungen, Monumenta Germanicae Paedagogica*, XLIII, where the Elizabethan play is reprinted.

and the allegorical *Pathomachia*.<sup>36</sup> The parts of speech are the interlocutors in the one; virtues, vices, and the human affections in the other. But while these plays have an obvious kinship with *Lingua*<sup>37</sup> they differ from the other debates mentioned, including *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, in that they have more elaborate plots and depend to a slighter extent upon verbal wit. It is of importance in the present discussion to note that both *Bellum Grammaticale* and *Pathomachia* are university performances.<sup>38</sup> *Pathomachia* may, indeed, be ascribed, with a high degree of probability, to Cambridge.<sup>39</sup>

That entertainments of the debate type should have flourished chiefly in the universities is not surprising. The form afforded a most attractive opportunity for the exercise of wits already ground sharp by the regular academic disputations, which after all differed by no very wide interval from the fictitious debates. The idea of presenting in character, with a dash of action and a spice of humor, controversies akin to those which were every day being debated on the platform, gave added zest to these dramatic performances. It has ever been the delight of the young scholar to mimic his serious academic occupations in play. In *Bellum Grammaticale*, *Pathomachia*, and *Lingua* there is promulgated in a semi-serious way an enormous amount of college lore. *Worke for Cutlers*, *Exchange Ware*, *Wine, Beere, and Ale*, and *Aristippus*, on the other hand, are purely humorous. Randolph's work preserves a mock academic atmosphere throughout and the dialogue is littered with the flotsam and jetsam of erudition. *Exchange Ware* and *Worke for Cutlers* derive their material from matters of fashion and social life, though each concludes with an academic allusion.<sup>40</sup> *Wine, Beere, and Ale* stands in this respect between the

<sup>36</sup> *Pathomachia, or the Battle of the Affections shadowed by a feigned Siege of the City of Pathopolis*, 1630. Reprinted, Edinburgh, 1887 (*Collectanea Adamantina*, XXII).

<sup>37</sup> See "The Debate Element," pp. 454-5, *Pathomachia* appears to have been modelled in part on *Lingua*, which is alluded to in the text.

<sup>38</sup> For academic allusions in *Pathomachia* see I, iii and iv; II, ii: IV, iii etc.

<sup>39</sup> In addition to the connection with *Lingua*, pointed out in note 3 above, there is in *Pathomachia* an allusion to the well-known Cambridge play, *Ignoramus*, acted before James in 1615. Friendship says to Justice "If I get within your Cony-burrowes, I shall disgrace you like *Ignoramus*." The lawyer, *Ignoramus*, in the play of that name is hoodwinked and disgraced in various ways. Moore-Smith (*Modern Language Review*, III, 149) is of the opinion that it was written by Tomkis, author of *Lingua*.

<sup>40</sup> But this bee hopes, with you will suffice,

To crave a pardon for a Scholars Prize.

Claw me, and I'll claw thee,—the proverb goes:

Let it be true, in this that freshman shows.

W. for C.

B., C., and R.

other two. Ale's somewhat formal argument, with his citation of etymology, and his reference to his "Works" as evidence that he is possessed of the "liberal sciences," Water's scraps of Latin, and Wine's quotation from the poets, all combine to give the piece an academic flavor. The general atmosphere, however, as might have been expected from the subject matter, is rather that of the tavern than of the classroom. It might be argued that the one scene no less than the other would have to the academic audience the charm of the familiar.

Against the hypothesis of Cambridge authorship we have the absence of any clear and definite local "hits" such as we might expect to find in a college play. But there is surprisingly little of this sort of thing in *Lingua*, and, save for the two references in the concluding songs, nothing in *Worke for Cullers* or *Exchange Ware*. There are, on the other hand, in *Wine, Beere, and Ale* one or two allusions to London matters. Thus Tost (line 540) refers to the New River, a canal, dedicated in 1613, which brought water from some twenty miles north of London to a reservoir near Islington, to supply the city. And Water, speaking of the musicians, remarks that they are some friends of his who often "come upon the water." It must be remembered, however, that London references would be perfectly familiar to a Cambridge audience.

Assuming that *Wine, Beere, and Ale* is indeed of Cambridge origin, was it ever acted and, if so, under what conditions and by whom? Mr. G. C. Moore Smith<sup>41</sup> suggests that *Exchange Ware* and *Worke for Cullers*, being alike so short, were played as interludes in the course of some longer plays performed before King James on his earlier visit to Cambridge in 1615. An imperfect copy of *Exchange Ware* exists in the manuscript collection of Dramatic Pieces on the Visits of James I to Cambridge. *Wine, Beere, and Ale* is but little longer and may have been similarly used.<sup>42</sup> We know that a comedy and other entertainments were prepared for the final visit of James to Cambridge in 1625

<sup>41</sup> *Notes on Some English University Plays*, *Modern Language Review*, III, 152.

<sup>42</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 66, gives the text of "A Cambridge Madrigal sung before the King instead of Interlude music in Ignoramus," showing that such substitutions were in use. G. C. Moore Smith notes that in the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits there is mention, with tragedies and comedies, of interludes between the acts.

but never given, owing to the illness of the king. Some slight evidence that our play was designed for presentation before James is afforded by the earlier tobacco passage, which has little relation to the context but would, as I have already remarked, have been well calculated to please King James.

Perhaps, on the other hand, the sketch appeared under less reputable auspices. The less dignified sort of entertainment had not been in high favor with the academic authorities. "Common plays, public shews, interludes, comedies, and tragedies in the English tongue" were prohibited in the second year of James I by a royal letter. But the restriction would not appear to have been rigidly enforced. It takes more than a royal ordinance or college edict to prevent students from indulging in the surreptitious frolics to which they are attached. Unlicensed shows are said by Mullinger to have been frequently performed at neighboring inns. A student was suspended in 1600 for having ventured to take part in an interlude at the "Black Bear," where he appeared with "deformed long locks of unseemly sight, and great breeches, undecent for a graduate or scholar of ordinary carriage." *Worke for Cullers* seems from the allusion in the closing line to have been performed by freshmen. Perhaps *Wine, Beere, and Ale* was also composed for the less seasoned scholars. Certainly there is nothing in the piece that would be above the acting powers of undergraduates.

In any case the play was evidently designed for actual representation.<sup>43</sup> Small touches throughout show that the writer had visualized the action and even the costume of his characters. This would seem to indicate that he had had some experience in writing for the stage. If he had indeed been the author of *Worke for Cullers* and its companion piece a few years before, the slightly greater complexity of the action and the superior adaptation to stage purposes in the later dialogue would be amply accounted for.

<sup>43</sup> Evidence on this point is to be found in the stage direction at the close of the play. In its earlier form this reads: "A Daunce, wherein the severall Natures of them all is figured and represented." In the second edition the description was filled in, either by the author or by someone who was familiar with the stage representation. See lines 677 ff.



V V I N E,  
B E E R E, A L E,  
A N D  
T O B A C C O.

Contending for Superiority.

---

*A Dialogue.*

---

The second Edition, much enlarged.

HORAT. *Sicci omnia dura Deus proposuit.*



Printed at London by T. C. for John Grose, and are  
to be sold at his shop at Farnham's Inne Gate  
in Holborne, 1630.

THE STATIONER TO THE READERS.<sup>1</sup>

GENTLEMEN; for in your Drinke, you will bee no lesse, I present you with this small Collation : If either *Wine* and *Sugar*, *Beere* and *Nutmeg*, a Cup of *Ale* and a *Toste*, *Tobacco*<sup>2</sup>, or all together, may meeete your Acceptation, I am glad I had it for you. There is difference betweene them; but your Palat may reconcile all. If any thing distaste you, there is *Water* to wash your hands of the whole Pamphlet. So hoping you will accept a Pledge of my Seruice, and haue a care of your owne health, I begin to you.

J. Gr.

## THE SPEAKERS

*WINE, A Gentleman.**SVGAR, His Page.**BEERE, A Citizen.**NVTMEG, His Prentice.**ALE, A Countrey-man.**TOST, One of his rurall Seruants.**WATER, A Parson.**TOBACCO, A swaggering Gentleman.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Readers. Ed. 1629, Reader.

<sup>2</sup> Tobacco. Omitted in Ed. 1629.

<sup>3</sup> Tobacco, *A Swaggering Gentleman.* Omitted in Ed. 1629.



# Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco Contending for Superiority.\*

*Sugar and Nutmegge from severall doores mee.*

*Sugar. Nutmegge?*

*Nut. Sugar?* well met, how chance you waite not vpon your Maister, where's Wine now?

*Sug.* Oh sometimes without Sugar, all the while he's well if I bee in his company, tis but for fashion sake, I waite vpon him into a roome now and then, but am not regarded : marrie when hee is ill, hee makes much of mee, who but Sugar? but to my remembrance I haue not beene in his presence this fortnight, I hope shortly hee will not know me, though he meeete me in his drinke. 10

*Nut.* Thou hast a sweete life in the meane time Sugar.

*Sug.* But thou art tied to more attendance Nutmegge vpon your Maister Beere.

*Nut.* Faith no, I am free now and then, though I bee his Prentice still, Nutmegge hath more friends to trust to then Beere: I can be welcome to wine thy master sometimes, and to the honest Countrey man Ale too. But now I talke of Ale, when didst see his man prethee?

*Sug. Who, Tost?*

*Nut. The same.*

*Sug. I meeete him at Tauerne euery day.* 20

*Nut. When shall thou, and he, and I, meeete and be merry ouer a Cuppe?*

*Sug.* Ile tell thee Nutmegge, I doe not care much for his company, he's such a chollericke peece, I know not what he's made of, but his quarrelling comes home to him, for hee's euery day cut for it, I maruell how he scapes, this morning he had a knife thrust into him

*Nut.* Indeed he will be very hot sometimes.

*Sug.* Hot? I, till he looke blacke ith' face agen, besides, if he take an opinion ther's no turning him, hee'l be burnt first. I did but by

\* Wine, Beere, etc. Ed. 1629, Wine, Beere, and Ale, Together by the Eares.

1 Sugar and Nutmegge from severall doores mee. Omitted Ed. 1658.

chance let fall some words against Ale, and hee had like to haue beaten  
me to powder for it. 31

*Nut.* How; beaten Sugar? that would be very fine ifaith; but hee  
being bread, and thou a loafe, you should not differ so. Stand, looke  
where he is.

*Enter Tost drunke.*

*Sug.* Then Ile be gone, for we shall quarrell.

*Nut.* Come, feare not, Ile part you, but hee's drunke, ready to fall;  
whence comes he dropping in now? How now Tost?

*Tost.* Nutmeg? round and sound and all of a colour, art thou there?

*Nut.* Heere's all that's left of me. 40

*Tost.* Nutmeg, I loue thee Nutmeg. What's that a Ghost?

*Nut.* No, tis your old acquaintance Sugar.

*Tost.* Sugar: Ile beat him to peeces.

*Sug.* Hold, hold. Nutmegge.

*Nutmeg and Sugar hang vpon Tost.*

*Tost.* Cannot Tost stand without holding?

*Nut.* Where haue you beene Tost?

*Tost.* Ile tell thee, I haue bin with my M. Ale. Sirra, I was very  
drie, and he has made me drunke: doe I not crumble? I shall fall a  
pieces; but Ile beate Suger for all that: I doe not weigh him, hee is a  
poore Rogue, I haue knowne him soldē for two pence, when hee was  
young, wrapt in swadling clouts of Paper. I know his breeding, a  
Drawer brought him vp, and now hee's growne so lumpish. 53

*Sug.* Y'are a rude Tost.

*Tost.* Rude? Let me but crush him: Rude? Sirra, tis well known  
you come from Barbary your selfe, and because of some few Pounds in  
a Chest, you thinkē to domineere ouer Tost: y'are a little handsome,  
I confesse, & Wenches likke their lips after you; but for all that,  
would I might sinke to the bottome, if I doe not—: I will giue Sugar  
but one box. 60

*Nut.* Come, come. you shall not.

*Sug.* Prethee Nutmeg, take out Tost a little, to morrow wee  
meet and be drunke together.

*Exit Nutmeg with Tost.*

So, so, I am glad hee's gone: I doe not loue this Tosts company, yet some occasion or other, puts me still vpon him. Ha, who's this?

*Enter Wine.*

Tis Wine my Master.

*Wine.* Sugar, you are a sweet youth, you wayt well.

*Sug.* A friend of mine call'd me forth, to cure a cut finger. 70

*Wine.* Youle turne Surgeon or Physician shortly.

*Sug.* But your diseases need none: for inflamations, which are dangerous to others, makes you more acceptable, nor doe you blush to haue it reported sir, how often you haue beene burnt.

*Wine.* So sir, now you put me in minde on't, I heare say you runne a wenching, and keepe womens company too much.

*Sug.* Alas sir, like will to like, Sugar being of his owne nature sweete, has reason to make much of women, which are the sweetest creatures.

*Wine.* But some of them are sower enough. 80

*Sug.* I sir, Widdowes at fifteene, and Maides at twentie fife; but I keepe them company, for no other thing, then to conuert them, some of them could eu'n eate me, but for feare of spoiling their teeth.

*Wine.* Indeed one of your sweet hearts complained t'other day you made her teeth rotten.

*Sug.* Alas sir, twas none of my fault, she bit me first, and I could doe no lesse, then punish her sweet tooth.

*Wine.* Well sirra, I say, take heed of women. 88

*Sug.* Nay sir, if I may credit my owne experience they are the best friends I haue, for I am alwaies in their mouthes. If I come to a banquet, as none are made without mee, in what fashion soeuer I appeare, euery woman bestowes a handkercher vpon me, and striue to carry me away in their cleanest linnen: nay, but for shame, to betray their affections to mee, they would bring whole sheets for me to lie in.

67 Enter Wine. Ed. 1629. Enter Wine, drinking Tobacco.

68 Tis Wine my Master. Ed. 1629, Tis Wine my Master. What smoking? Wine and tobacco, I thinke, are never asunder: but tis no marvell they agree so well. they both come out of a Pipe.

*Wine.* Why sure thou wert wrapt in thy mothers smocke.

*Sug.* I thinke if the Midwife were put to her oath, I was wrapt in hers, oth Christing day.

But see sir, here's Master Beere.

*Enter Beere.*

*Wine.* How, Beere? we are not very good friends, no matter, I scorne to auoid him. 101

*Beere.* Beere-leave sir.

*Iustles Wine.*

*Wine.* So me thinkes? how now Beere, running atilt, dost not know me?

*Beere.* I doe meane to haue the wall on you.

*Wine.* The wall of me; you would haue your head and the wall knockt together, learne better manners, or I may chance to broach you.

*Beere.* Broach me, alas poore Wine, tis not your *Fieri facias* can make Beere afraid, thy betters know the strength of Beere. I doe not feare your high colour sir. 110

*Sug.* So, so, here will be some scuffling.

*Wine.* You'le leaue your impudence, and learne to know your superiours Beere, or I may chance to haue you stopt vp. what neuer leaue working? I am none of your fellowes.

*Beere.* I scorne thou shouldst.

*Wine.* I am a companion for Princes, the least droppe of my blood, worth all thy body. I am sent for by the Citizens, visited by the Gallants, kist by the Gentlewomen: I am their life, their Genius,

97 Oth Christening day. The following passage from Ed. 1629 is omitted at this point:

*Wine.* Well sirra, enough of this discourse, you are for the woemen, but wee men haue a better companion, and indeed bitter, as thou art sweet, that's this Tobacco.

*Sug.* I sir, but I could neuer arriu at the vnderstanding, why every man should so affect it.

*Wine.* There's thy ignorance, tis an excellent discouerer, and a helpe for the imperfections of nature.

*Sug.* As how, pray sir?

*Wine.* Why, when a man hath not the wit to deliuere his meaning in good words, this being taken, dvs presently helpe help him to spit it out Gentleman-like.

*Sug.* Indeed the best part of our common complement is but smoake, and now I know how Gentleman come by it but me thinkes for all that, it takes from the honour of a Gentleman, to bee a common piper and if the premises bee well considered, wee may conclude, they are no more men that vse it.

*Wine.* How? not men? why?

*Sug.* Because it makes em children againe, for I am sure they that vse it most, doe but sucke all the day long, and they are little better then chilren then.

102 *Iustles.* Misprinted *instiles.*

103 dost not know me? Ed. 1658, do'st thou not know me?

the Poeticall furie, the Helicon of the Muses, of better value then  
Beere; I should be sorry else. 120

*Beere.* Thou art sorie wine indeed sometimes: Value? you are  
come vp of late, men pay deere for your company, and repent it: that  
giues you not the precedencie; though Beere set not so great a price  
vpon himselfe, he meanes not to bate a graine of his worth, nor sub-  
scribe to Wine for all his braueries,

*Wine.* Not to mee?

*Beere.* Not to you: why whence come you pray?

*Wine.* From France, from Spaine, from Greece.

*Beere.* Thou art a mad Greeke indeed.

*Wine.* Where thou must neuer hope to come: who dares denie  
that I haue beene a trauailer? 131

*Beere.* A trauailer? in a tumbrell, a little Beere will go farther:  
why Wine, art not thou kept vnder locke and key, confinde to some  
corner of a Cellar, and there indeed commonly close prisoner, vnlesse  
the Taylor or Yeoman of the Bottles turne the Key for the chamber-  
maid now and then, for which shee vowes not to leaue him, till the  
last gaspe, where Beere goes abroad, and randeuous in euery place.

*Win.* Thou in euery place? away hop of my thumbe: Beere, I am  
asham'd of thee. 139

*Beer,* Be asham'd of thy selfe, and blush Wine thou art no better.  
Beere shall haue commendations for his mildnesse and vertue, when  
thou art spit out of mens mouthes, & distasted: thou art an hypocrite,  
Wine, art all white sometimes, but more changeable then *Proteus*:  
thou wouldest take vpon thee to comfort the blood, but hast beene the  
cause that too many noble veines haue beene emptied: thy vertue is  
to betray secrets, the very preparatiue to a thousand rapes and mur-  
ders, and yet thou darest stand vpon thy credit, and preferre thy selfe  
to Beere, that is as cleare as day.

*Sug.* Well said Beere, hee beares vp stiffe like a Constable. Now  
will I play my part with'em both. Sir, *To Wine* 150  
This is intollerable.

*Wine.* The vessell of your wit leakes, Beere, why thou art drunke.

*Beere.* So art thou Wine, every day i'th weeke, and art faine to be  
carried foorth of doores.

150 To. Misprinted Tn.

*Sug.* How sir?

*To Wine.*

*Win.* I scorne thy words, thou art base Beere: Wine is well borne, has good breeding, and bringing vp; thou deseruest to be carted, Beere.

*Sug.* Suffer this, and suffer all, to him againe.

159

*Beere.* Carted? thou would be carted thy selfe, racket and drawne for thy basenesse, Wine. Welborne? Did not every man call you Bastard tother day? borne? ther's no man able to beare thee much: and for breeding, I know none thou hast, vnlesse it bee Diseases.

*Sug.* How, diseases? you haue beene held alwayes to bee wholsome Wine, sir.

*Wine.* Sirra, if I take you in hand, I shall make you smal Beere.

*Beere.* Take heed I doe not make Vineger of you first.

*Sug.* Doe, doe, make him pissem, in my opinion sir, it were not for your honor to run away: yet Beere being a common quarreler, I feare may proue too hard for you.

170

*Wine.* Too hard for me? away Boy, Ile be as hard as he for his hart: alas, hee's but weake Beere, if I giue him but a tap, it shall stay him from runing out thus.

*Sug.* So, so, they are high enough; fall too, and welcome.

*Enter Ale.*

Who's this? Ale? Oh for the three-men-Song: this Ale is a stout fellow, it shall go hard, but Sugar which makes all sweet sometimes, shall set him in his part of Discord.

*Wine.* Come, come, Beere, you forget how low you were tother day: prouoke mee not too much, lest I bestow a firkin on you.

180

*Beere.* Strike and thou dar'st Wine, I shall make thee answer as quicke as the obiection, and giue you a dash.

*Ale.* Vmh: what's this? it seemes theres great difference betweene Wine and Beere. Sugar, what's the matter?

*Sug.* Oh goodman *Ale*, I am glad you'r come, heare's nothing but contention: I haue gone betwixt'em twice or thrice, but I feare, one or both will be spilt.

*Ale.* What doe they contend about?

*Sug.* For that, which for ought I can apprehend, belongs as much to you, as to either of them. 190

*Ale.* Hah? to mee? what's that?

*Sug.* Ale, by iudicious men hath been held no despicable drinke, for my owne part, tis nothing to me: you are all one to Sugar, whosoever be King, Sugar can be a subiect, but yet, twere fit, Ale had his measure.

*Ale.* Are they so proud?

*Sug.* They mind not you, as if you were too vnworthy a Competitor; See, tis come to a challenge.

*Wine throwes downe the gloue, which Beere takes vp.*

Pray take no knowledge that I discouered any thing of their Ambition; Sugar shall euer bee found true to Ale, else would I might neuer be more drunke in your company. 202

*Ale.* No matter for protestation.

*Sug.* So, so, now I haue warmed Ale pretty well, Ile leaue 'em: if Wine Beere and Ale agree together, would Sugar might neuer bee drunke but with Water, nor neuer helpe to preserue any thing but old women, & elder brothers. *Exit.*

*Wine.* Remember the place, and weapon.

*Ale.* Stay, stay, come together agen, why how now, what fight, and kill one another? 210

*Wine.* Alas poore Beere, I account him dead already.

*Beere.* No sir, you may find Beere quick enough, to pierce your Hogshead. I shall remember.

*Ale.* But ith meane time you both forget your selues: dee heare? Ale is a friend to you both, let me know your difference.

*Beere.* Hee has disgrac'd mee.

*Wine.* Thou hast disgrac'd thy selfe in thy comparisons. Wine must be acknowledged the Nectar of all drinks, the prince of Liquors.

*Beere.* To wash Bootes. 219

*Ale.* Harke you, are you both mad? who hath heat you, that you run ouer, do you contend for that in iustice belongs to another? I tell you Wine and Beere, I do not relish you, Ile tell you a tale: Two

spruce hot-spurre fiery gallants meeting ith streets, iusted for the wall, drew, would ha been fighting: there steps mee forth a correcter of soles, an vnderlaid cobler, and cries out, Hold, hold your hands Gentlemen, are you so simple to fight for the wall? why the wall's my Landlords. Haue you but so much wit as to apply this, you shall never neede fence for the matter. Superioritie is mine, Ale is the prince of liquors, and you are both my subiects.

*Ale.* Wee thy Subiects?

230

*Wine.* O base Ale.

*Beere.* O muddy Ale.

*Ale.* Leaue your railing, and attend my reasons, I claime your duties to mee, for many prerogatiues: my antiquitie, my riches, my learning, my strength, my grauitie.

*Wine.* Antiquitie? your first reason's a very small one.

*Ale.* Dare any of you denie my antiquitie? I say.

*Wine.* We must beare with him, tis in his Ale.

*Ale.* It onely pleades for mee: who hath not heard of the old Ale of England?

240

*Beere.* Old Ale; oh there tis growne to a Prouerbe, *Jones* Ale's new.

*Ale.* These are trifles, and conuince me not.

*Wine.* If wee should grant your argument, you would gaine little by't, goe together, I doe allow you both a couple of stale companions.

*Beere.* Wine, you're very harsh.

*Ale.* Let him, my second prerogatiue is my riches and possessions; for who knowes not how many howses I haue? Wine and Beere are faine to take vp a corner, your ambition goes no further then a Celler, where the whole house where I am is mine, goes onely by my name, is cald an Alehouse; but when is either heard, the Wine-house, or the Beere-house? you cannot passe a streete, wherein I haue not houses of mine owne, besides many that goe by other mens names.

252

*Beere.* I confesse you haue here and there an Alehouse, but whose are all the rest? hath not Beere as much title to them?

*Wine.* And yet I haue not heard that either of you both haue fin'd for Aldermen though I confesse something has bin attempted out of nicke and froth. Be rul'd by me, Beere and Ale, & aspire no heigher then the Common-Councell-houses. Oh impudence, that either of you should talke of houses, when sometimes you are both

glad of a tub: dee heare Ale? doe not you knowe the man that did the  
bottle bring? 261

*Ale.* Thou art glad of a Bottle thy selfe, Wine, sometimes, and so  
is Beere too, for all he froaths now.

*Beere.* So, so.

*Ale.* My third Prerogatiue, is my Learning.

*Wine.* Learning? If you haue the Liberall Sciences, pray be free,  
and lets heare some.

*Ale.* For that, though I could giue you demonstration, for breuities  
sake I remit you to my booke.

*Beere.* Bookes? printed *Cum priuilegio* no doubt on't, and sold for  
the Company of Stationers: what are the names? 271

*Ale.* Admire me, but when I name learned, though not the great  
*Alexander Ale* and *Tostatus* the Jesuite.

*Wine.* O learned Ale, you scorne to make Indentures any more,  
but you might as well haue concluded this without booke.

*Beere.* Why, you will shortly be Towne-Clerke, the Citie Chron-  
icler is too meane a place for you.

*Ale.* Now for my strength and invincibilitie.

*Beere.* But heere let mee interrupt you, talke no more of strength,  
none but Beere deserues to bee call'd strong, no pen is able to set  
downe my victories. I? why, I haue been the destruction.— 281

*Wine.* Of Troy, hast not? heere your owne mouthes condemne  
you: if killing be your conquest, euery Quacksaluing knaue may haue  
the credit of a rare Phisician, that sends more to the Church and  
Churchyard, then diseases doe: I Wine, comfort & preserue, let that  
be my Character. I am cosen German to the blood, not so like in my  
appearance as I am in nature, I repaire the debilitiess of age, and re-  
uiue the refrigerated spirits, exhilarate the heart, and steele the brow  
with confidence. For you both the Poet hath drawne your memoriall  
in one. 290

— *nil spissius illa*

*Dum bibitur, nil clarus est dum mingitur, unde*  
*Constat quod multas facies in corpore linquat.*

Nothing goes in so thicke,  
Nothing comes out so thinne:  
It must needs follow then,  
Your dregs are left within.

And so I leaue you *Stygiae monstrum conforme paludi*, monstrous  
drinke, like the riuers Styx. 299

*Ale.* Nay but hearke, tis not your Latine must carry it away, I  
will not loose a drop of my reputation, and by your fauour, if you  
stand so much vpon your preseruing, Ile put you to your Latine agen,  
and prooue my selfe superior, for Ale as if it were the life of mankind,  
hath a peculiar name and denomination, being cald Ale from *Alo*,  
which euery Schoole boy can tell, signifies to feed and norish, which  
neither Wine nor Beere can shew for themselues; and for my strength  
and honour in the warres, know that Ale is a Knight of Malta, and  
dares fight with any man beares a head, tis more safe to beleue what  
a Souldier I am, then trie what I can doe. 309

*Beere.* If you looke thus ilfaououredly Ale, you may fright men well  
enough, and be held terrible by weake stomacks; but if you call to  
mind the puissance and valour of Beere, invincible Beere, tumble  
downe Beere, you must sing a Pallinode. I? why I haue ouerthrowne  
armies, how easie is it for me to take a cittie, when I can tame Con-  
stables, which in their presence are formidable at midnight, in the  
middest of their rugged Bill men, make'em all resigne their weapons,  
and send 'em away to sleepe vpon their charge.

*Wine.* How? vpon their owne charge? take the Constable  
committig that fault, and hee'l neuer bee good in his office after it. 319

*Beere.* Now for my vertue in preseruing and nourishing the body  
wherein you both so glory, you are not to compare with mee; since  
thousands euery day come to receiue their healths from me.

*Wine.* Kings and Princes from me, and like them I am serued in  
plate.

*Ale.* But thou art come downe of late to a glasse, Wine: and that's  
the reason I thinke, so many Vintners haue broake: now obserue my  
last Reason.

*Beere.* Yes, pray where lies your grauitie? 328

*Ale.* Not in my Beard, I speake without mentall reseruation, Ile  
tell you, and you shall confesse it: the Wise men of ancient time were  
called Sages, and to this day it signifies iudgment, discretion, grauitie;  
for by what other would you excite to good manners more aptly, then  
to shew a young man to bee sage, that is graue: and with what title  
can you better salute him that is graue, or more honour him, then to

call him one of the Sages? Now this appellation neither of you can challenge, yet euery man giueth mee the attribute; for who knowes not I am called Sage Ale?

*Wi.* One may guesse what braines he caries by the Sage now.

*Ale.* And thus hauing giuen you sufficient reasons for your acknowledgement of my principalitie, let your knees witnesse your obedience to your King, and I will grace you both by making you Squires of my body, right honorable Ale Squires. 342

*Wine.* This is beyond suffering: was euer Wine so vndervalued? Barbarous detractors, whose beginning came from a dunghill, I defie you. *Bacchus*, looke downe, and see me vindicate thine honour, I scorne to procrastinate in this, and this minute you shall giue account of your insolencies: my spirit's high, I am enemy to both.

*Ale.* Is Wine drawn? then haue at you, Ile make good Ale.

*Beere.* I stand for the honour of Beere, were you an army.

*As they offer to fight Water comes running in.*

350

*Water.* Hold, hold, hold.

*Wine.* How now? what comes water running hither for?

*Wat.* Let my feare ebbe a little.

*Beere.* What tide brought you hither, Water?

*Water.* The pure stremme of my affection: oh how I am troubled! I am not yet recovered.

*Ale.* So me thinks you looke very thin vpon't Water: but why doe we not fight? 358

*Water.* Doe not talke of fighting, is it not time that Water should come to quench the fire of such contention? I tell you, the care of your preseruation made me breake my banks to come to you, that you might see the ouerflowing loue I beare you: your quarrell hath ecchoed vnto me; I know your ambition for superioritie: you are all my kinsmen, neere allyed to Water, and though I say it, sometimes not a little beholding to Water, euen for your very makings. Will you referre your selues to mee, and wade no further in these discontentments? I will vndertake your reconcilement and qualification.

*Wine.* To thee, Water? wilt thou take vpon thee to correct our irregularitie? Thou often goest beyond thy bounds thy selfe. But if they consent, I shall. 370

*Beere.* I am content.

*Ale.* And I.

*Water.* Then without further circumlocution or insinuation, Water runnes to the matter: you shall no more contend for excellencie, for Water shall allow each of you a singularitie. First, you Wine, shall be in most request among Courtiers, Gallants, Gentlemen, Poeticall wits, *Qui melioris luti homines*, being of a refined mould, shall choose as a more nimble and actiue watering, to make their braines fruitfull, *secundi calices quem non?* but so as not confin'd to them, nor limitting them to you, more then to exhilarate their spirits, and acuate their inuentions.

381

You Beere, shall bee in most grace with the Citizens, as being a more stayed Liquor, fit for them that purpose retirement and grauitie, that with the Snaile carries the cares of a house and family with them, tyed to the atendance of an illiberall profession, that neither trot nor amble, but haue a sure pace of their owne, *Bos lassus fortius fugit pedem*, The black Oxe has trod vpon their foot: yet I bound you not with the Citie, though it bee the common entertainement, you may bee in credit with Gentlemens Cellars, and carry reputation before you from March to Christmas-tide I should say; that Water should forget his Tide.

391

You Ale I remit to the Countrie as more fit to liue where you were bred: your credit shall not be inferiour, for people of all sorts shall desire youre acquaintance, specially in the morning, though you may be allowed all the day after: the Parson shall account you one of his best Parishioners, & the Church wardens shall pay for your companie, and drawing their Bills all the yeere long, you shall bee loued and maintained at the Parish charge till you be old, bee allowed a *Robin-hood*, or Mother *Red-cap*, to hang at your doore, to beckon in Customers: and if you come into the Citie, you may be drunke with pleasure, but neuer come into the fashion. At all times you shall haue respect, but ith Winter Morning without comparison. How doe you like my censure now?

403

*Ale.* Water has a deepe iudgement.

*Wat.* And yet the world sayes sometimes Water is shallow: nay, Ile see you shake handes, and tie a new knot of friendship.

*Ale.* We are henceforth brothers.

*Wine.* Stay, who's here?

*Enter Tost, Sugar, and Nutmeg: Tost whetting a knife on his shooe.*

*Tost.* I tell thee, Sugar, I am now friends with thee. But if it bee  
as you say——

411

*Wat.* What's the matter?

*Ale.* Let's obserue him a little, Tost is angry.

*Nut.* What need you be so hote, Tost?

*Tost.* Hote? tis no matter, Sugar: you will iustifie that Wine and  
Beere offered this wrong vnto Ale.

*Sug.* I know not whose pride began; but I was sorry to see Wine,  
Beere, and Ale at such odds.

*Tost.* Ods quotha? I do meane to be euen with some body.

*Nut.* An euen Tost shewes well,

420

*Tost.* They shall find that Ale has those about him that are not  
altogether dowe.

*Sug.* Thou hast been baked, Ile sweare.

*Nut.* And new come out of the Ouen too, I thinke: for he is very  
fierie.

*Tost.* Ale must not be put downe so long as Tost has a crum of life  
left. Beere too?

*Nut.* What doe you meane to doe with your knife, Tost? that will  
scarce cut Beere and 'twere buttered.

*Tost.* Come not neere me, Nutmeg, least I grate you, and slise  
you: Nutmeg, doe you marke?

431

*Wine.* Let's in, and make 'em friends. How now Tost?

*Tost.* Tis all one for that: Oh, are you there? pray tell me which  
of 'em ist?

*Ale.* Is what?

*Nut.* Why they are friends: what did you meane Sugar, to make  
Tost burne thus?

*Ale.* No such matter.

*Tost.* You will not tell me then. Harke you Beere, March-Beere,  
this way a little.

440

*Beere.* What dost thou meane to doe with thy knife?

*Tost.* I must stirre you a little Beere: what colour had you to  
quarrell with my Master?

*Beere. Ale.* We are sworne brothers.

*Ale.* We were at difference, and Wine too. but—

*Tost.* Wine too But, but me no buts, I care not a strawe for his buts; dee here sir, doe you long to be Graues Wine?

*Wine.* We are all friends.

*Water.* I, I, all friends on my word, Tost.

*Tost.* Fire and water are not to bee trusted, away new Riuer, away, I wash my hands on thee. 451

*Ale.* Come hither againe, Tost.

*Tost.* Ouer head and eares in Ale.

*Wine.* How comes this about, Sugar?

*Sug.* The truth is, sir, I told him of some difference betweene you, for he and I had been fallen out, and I had no other securitie to put in for my selfe, then to put him vpon some body else.

*Nut.* Nutmeg durst scarce speake to him, hee was ready to put me in his pocket.

*Tost.* I am coole agen: I may beleue you are friends; then I am content to put vp. *Puts vp his knife.* 461

Sugar and Nutmeg, come, we be three.

*Sug.* Let's be all one rather: and from hencefoorth since they are so well accorded, let's make no difference of our Masters, but belong to 'em in common: for my part, though I wait vpon Wine, it shall not exempt my attendance on Beere, or Ale, if they please to command Sugar.

*Tost.* A match. I am for any thing but Water.

*Nut.* And I. 469

*Sug.* But my seruice shall be ready for him to, Water and Sugar I hope, may be drunke together now and then, and not bee brought within compasse of the Statute, to bee put ith stockes for't,

*Wat.* Godamercy Sugar with all my hart, I shall loue thy company, for I am solitary, and thou wilt make mee pleasant. Stay.

### *Musicke.*

Harke Musicke? Oh some friends of mine, I know 'em, they often come vpon the water: let's entertaine the ayre a little, neuer a voice among you?

## THE SONG.

Wine. *I louiall Wine exhilarate the heart.* 480  
 Beere. *March Beere is drinke for a King.*  
 Ale. *But Ale, bonny Ale, with Spice and Tost,  
     In the Morning's a daintie thing.*  
 Chorus. *{ Then let vs be merry, wash sorrow away,  
     Wine, Beere, and Ale, shall be drunke today.*  
 Wine. *I generous Wine, am for the Court.*  
 Beere. *The Cittie calls for Beere.*  
 Ale. *But Ale, bonny Ale, like a Lord of the Soyle,  
     In the Countrey shall domineere.*  
 Chorus. *{ Then let vs be merry, wash sorrow away,  
     Wine, Beere and Ale shall be drunke today.* 490

*Water.* Why, now could I dance for ioy.

*Ale.* Now you talke of dancing, Wine, tis one of your qualities, let's pay the Musicians all together: wee haue often made other men haue light heads and heeles, there's no hurt a little in tripping for our selues, what say you?

*Beere.* Strike vp Piper.

*Wine.* Lustily, make a merry day on't; nay, leaue out none, at Dancing and at Foot-ball, all fellowes.

## Enter Tobaco.

500

*Tobaco.* Be your leaue gentlemen——wil't please you be here sir?

*Wine.* Who's this Tobaco?

*Beere.* Why comes he into our company?

*Tobaco.* I do heare say there is a controuersie——among you, and I am come——to moderate the businesse.

*Ale.* It shannot need, wee are concluded sir.

*Water.* Your name is Tobaco I take it.

*Tobaco.* No sir you take it not——deesee, tis I that take it.

*Wine.* But wee take it very ill, you should intrude your selfe into our mirth. 511

498 Leaue. Misprinted leane.

500-676 Enter Tobacco . . . . . strike us dead. Omitted ed. 1629.

*Water.* I did guesse, by the chimney your nose that you might stand in neede of water, to quench some fire in your kitchin.

*Tobaco.* Hoh? Water. Spets.

*Water.* He has spit me out already. Exit.

*Tobaco.* Sugar tost and nutmeg. puh. vanish.

*Wine.* He has blone away the spice too. *Ex. S. t. n.*

*Tobaco.* Now, doe you not know mee——what do yee stand at gaze——Tobacco is a drinke too.

*Beere.* A drinke? 520

*Tobaco.* Wine, you and I come both out of a pipe.

*Ale.* Prethee go smoke somewhere else, we are not couetous of your acquaintance.

*Tobaco.* Do not incense me, do not inflame Tobacco.

*Wine.* We do not feare your puffing sir, and you haue any thing to say to vs be briefe and speake it.

*Tobaco.* Then briefely——and without more circumstance——not to hold you in expectation.

*Wine.* Heida, this is prolixity it selfe.

*Beere.* Oh sir his words are not well dyed in his mouth. 530

*Ale.* Or his vnderstanding is not sufficiently lighted yet giue him leaue I pray.

*Tobaco.* I do come——

*Wine.* Not yet to the purpose methinkes.

*Tost.* And I do meane——

*Beere.* Somewhat——wo'd heare out.

*Tobaco.* And I entend——

*Ale.* Yet againe, thinke, thinke, till tomorrow, wee may chance meet agen.

*Tob.* Stay, I command you stay. 540

*Wine.* How, you command vs by whose autority?

*Beere.* That must be disputed.

*Tob.* Attend my argument; The soueraigne ought to comand, I am your soueraigne, the soueraigne drinke Tobaco. *Ergo.*——

514 Spets. Printed in roman type and without capitalization in eds. 1630 and 1658.

517 Ex. S. t. n. Ed. 1658 Exit S. T. N.

522 Not, Omitted ed. 1630.

531 Ghe. Misprinted gine.

*Wine.* I see Tobacco is sophisticated.

*Tob.* I ought to command you, and it will become your duty to obey me—

*Bee.* You our soueraigne a meere whiffler.

*Tob.* I say agen I am your Prince, bow, and doe homage.

*Al.* You haue turnd ouer a new leafe Tobacco. 550

*Wine.* You are very high Tobacco, I see ill weedes grow apace.

*Bee.* Most high and mighty trinidad.

*Wine.* For whose vertue would you be exalted, if it shall please your smoaky excellency?

*Tob.* Not yours,—nor yours—nor yours—but altogether, all the vertues which you seuerally glory in, are in me vnitied,—ooke not so coy, Call water to spread your faction, and you are but like the giddy elements changing and borrowing creatures, whilst I Tobacco am acknowledged a Heauenly quintessence, a diuine herbe.

*Bee.* Tobácco you are out.

560

*Al.* After what rate is this an ounce?

*Wine* Let vs beseech your excellency, for lesse title wee must not giue you hauing so much vertue as you pretend, to let vs vnderstand some of your particular graces and qualities.

*Bee.* I pray discourse a litle, what's the first?

*Tob.* You haue nam'd it——tis discourse which you are so farre from being able to aduance that you destroy it, in all men when you are most accepted, when my diuine breath mixing with theirs, doth distill eloquence and oracle vpon the tongue, which moueth with such deliberation—words flowing in so sweet distinction, that many eares are chained to the lips of him that speaketh. 571

*Da puer accensum selecto fictile Paeto,*

*vt Phæbūm ore bibam.*

*Ale.* And yet wee are not incharted with the musick of your pipe to dance after it. My most excellent discourser.

*Bee.* And a helpe for the imperfections of nature. For when a man ha's not wit enough to expresse himselfe in words, you being taken, do presently helpe him,—to spit forth gentleman like.

*Al.* Indeed the most part of our common complement is but smoke, and now I know how Gentlemen come by it. 580

*Tob.* Thus swine do value pearle—

*Wine.* But as you haue the eloquence of *Vlysses*, I suppose you haue not the strength of *Ajax*, wee should moue in great feare, if you were valiant, I hope you are but weake Tobacco.

*Tob.* Weake? whose braine hath not felt the effects of my mightinesse? He that opposes me shall find me march like a tempest, waited vpon with lightening and black Cloudes.

*Wi.* Here is no cracke.

*Bee.* Yet he thunders it out.

589

*Ale.* Yes yes, I remember I haue heard him reported a solidier, and once being in company with a knap-Iack man a companion of his, I obtained a coppy of his military postures, which put downe the pike and pot-gun cleane, pray obserue 'em.

1. Take your seale.	13. Elbow your pipe.
2. Draw your box.	14. Mouth your pipe.
3. Vncase your pipe.	15. Glue fire.
4. Produce your rammer.	16. Nose your Tobacco.
5. Blow your pipe.	17. Puffe vp your smoake.
6. Open your box.	18. Spit on your right hand.
7. Fill your pipe.	19. Throw off your loose ashes.
8. Ramme your pipe.	660 20. Present to your friend.
9. Withdraw your Rammer.	21. As you were.
10. Returne your rammer.	22. Cleanse your pipe.
11. Make ready.	23. Blow your pipe.
12. Present.	24. Supply your pipe.

Exercise this discipline till you stinke, defile the roome, offend your friends, destroy your liuer and lungs, and bid adiew to the world with a scowring fluxe.

*To.* You haue a good memorie ——

*Ale.* I'me sure Tobacco will spoyle it.

610

*Tob.* These are but childish inuentions.

*Wine.* They are most proper to illustrate your magnificence, for howsoeuer you pretend that you conuerse with men, it is apparant, that you make men children agen, for they that vse you most familiarly, doe but smoake all the day long.

*To* You dishonour me.

598 Your. Misprinted You.

*Wine.* Not so much as Gentlemen dishonour themselues, to turne common pipers: but if you haue any more conditions, pray enrich vs with the story.

*Tob.* I am medicinall.

620

*Be.* How?

*To.* And preserue the health of man.

*Wine.* I hope they are not come to drinke healthes in Tobacco.

*To.* I repaire the bodies which your immoderate cups haue turnd to fennes and marshes. The wisest Phisitians prescribe my vse, and acknowledge me a salutary herbe.

*Ale.* Phisitians are no fooles, they may commend you for their profit, you are one of their herbingers to prouide for a disease; yet howsoeuer you call them wise, and glorie in their flatteries, they make but a very simple of you.

630

*Wine.* Methinkes this should cut Tobacco.

*Tob.* Not at all, I am aboue their poore derision; at my pleasure I could reuenge their malice, for I am in fauour, and growne to be the delight of poets and princes.

*Bee.* How poets and princes? *Ego & Rex meus*, a stopper for Tobacco, wee shall haue pretty treason anon else.

*Tob.* Does it scruple your iudgement Mr. small beere that I say poets and Princes? I am not to learne their distinction, nor doth it take from any allegiance, they are both sacred names: yet I am confident it is easier for a poet not borne to soueraigntie to aspire to a kingdome, then for a King not borne with fancie to be made a poet. I mentioned these names, not in their methode and order, but to shew my grace with them, that are most able to punish insolence, such as your's,

644

*Ale.* How the vapour rises.

*Wine.* This ruffler may be troublesome, wee were best admit him to our society, he is a dry companion, and you may obserue, how he hath insinuated already with the greatest; the ladies begin to affect him, and he receiuess priuate fauors from their lips, every day he kisseth their hands, when he appeares in a faire pipe; though wee allow him not a prioritie, for our owne sakes, let vs hold correspond-

636 pretty. Ed. of 1658. pretty.

ence with him, least he seduce men to forsake vs, or at least to make  
vse of vs but for their necessity. 653

*Ale.* Hum! he sayes well, now I better consider 'twere safest to  
vse him kindly, least by degrees he ouerthrow vs, and iett vpon our  
priuledges, for I heard a gentleman t'other day affirme, he had fasted  
3 or 4 dayes, only with Tobacco.

*Wine.* Beside, if we continue friends he will be a preparatiue for  
our reception, without vs he may subsist, but with him wee are sure of  
liberall entertainement. 660

*Beere.* I am conuerted, Wine you are the best orator, speake for vs.

*Wine.* Tobacco, you are a good fellow, all ambition laid aside, let  
vs embrace as friends; excuse vs, that wee haue been a little merry  
with you, wee acknowledge you a gentle drink and you shall haue all  
the respect will become Wine, Beere, or Ale to obserue you with:  
what should we contend for primacie, quarrell about titles, which if to  
any wee acknowledge most properly belong to you, for they are all  
but smoake. Let vs vnite and be confederate states for the benefit of  
mens low countreyes, lieue and loue together. Wine doth here enter  
into league with Tobacco. 670

*Be.* And beere.

*Al.* And Ale.

*Tob.* Are you in earnest? why then Tobacco is so farre from pride,  
that he vowes to serue you all, and when I leaue to be a true friend,  
may fire consume me, and my ashes want a buriall.

*W. B. A.* and when wee falsifie, may thunders strike vs dead.

### *The Dance.*

In which wine falling downe, one taketh sugar by the heeles and seemes  
to shake him vpon Wine.

In the second passage, beere falleth, and 2 take Nutmegge, and as  
it were to grate him ouer beere. 681

656 Gentleman. Misprinted geut'leman.

669 Mens. Misprinted meus.

677 The Dance. Ed. 1629, A Daunce, wherein the severall Natures of them all is figured and  
represented. Ed. 1658 They Dance.

In the Third Ale falleth, one bringeth in a Chafendish of coles, and another causeth Tost to put his breech to it; afterwards it is clapt to Ale's mouth, and the Dance concludeth.

**FINIS.**

## NOTES

Title Page. *Sic sis omnia.* Horace, *Odes*, 1, xviii, 3.

5. *Oh sometimes without Sugar.* The mixing of sugar with wine was apparently confined to England. Fynes Moryson (*Itinerary*, ed. 1907, iv, 176) remarks that he has never observed sugar used for the purpose in any other country. "And because the taste of the English is thus delighted with sweetnesse," Moryson continues, "the Wines in Tavernes (for I speake not of Merchants or Gentlemens Cellars) are commonly mixed at the filling thereof, to make them pleasant." The practice of sugaring wine is often commented on with surprise by foreign travellers in England. (See Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 190.) From the present passage it appears that sugar was at this time customarily used to disguise the taste of inferior or adulterated wines. Yet Falstaff, who protested against adulterants ("There's lime in this sack, too!"), habitually drank sweetened wine.

16. *to the honest Countrey man Ale too.* Cf. Greene, *Looking Glasse for London and England*, I, ii, 247-8 (Works, ed. Collins, I): "for marke you, sir, a pot of Ale consists of four parts, Imprimis the Ale, the Toast, the Ginger, and the Notmeg."

41. *What's that a Ghost?* The remark suggests the costume, half white and half pale-blue, of the character Sugar in Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird*.

51. *I have knowne him solde for two pence.* The price of sugar at this time ranged from 1s 8d per pound for "fine" sugar to about 1s for ordinary sugar. (See Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices*, V, 472.) Later in the seventeenth century, with the importation of sugar from the new world, prices greatly decreased. The little paper of sugar sold in the taverns to the drinkers doubtless contained less than an ounce of the precious stuff, if we are to allow mine host a fair profit above the current price.

56. *you come from Barbary your selfe.* The north and west coasts of Africa, with the adjacent islands, were an important source of sugar importation into England at this time, though the trade with the new world had already begun. (See Ellen D. Ellis, *An Introduction to the History of Sugar as a Commodity*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs.) Some sugar bought by Lord Spencer in 1605 at the high price of 2s the pound is designated in the records as "Barbary sugar." (Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices*, V, 462.)

76. *I heare say you runne a wenching.* The fondness of the English and especially of English women for sweets of every kind was a source of wonder to foreigners. The Spaniards who came to England with the embassy of the Count Villamediana in 1603 won the favor of the fair ladies of Canterbury by presenting them through their lattices with sweetmeats, "which they enjoyed mightily; for (it is remarked) they eat nothing but what is sweetened with sugar." (Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 190.) Cf. the allusion to eating sugar on toast (above, l. 66), and drinking it with water (above, line 470). The effect on the teeth of a too liberal indulgence of this taste is often alluded to. Thus the German, Paul Hentzner, describing the person of Queen Elizabeth, remarks the blackness of her teeth, "a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar." (Quoted by Rye, ib., 104.)

91. *None are made without me.* "Banquet" in Elizabethan and Jacobean usage meant a course of sweets.

97. *I was wrapt in hers, oth Christian day.* An amusing illustration of the use of sweets at christenings is afforded by Middleton, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, III, ii (Works, ed. Bullen, IV, 152 ff.), where the gossips are regaled on comfits at Sir W. Whorehound's expense:

"Allwit: These women have no consciences at sweet meats  
Where're they come, see and they've not culled out  
All the long plums too, they've left nothing here  
But short wiggle-tailed comfits, not worth mouthing:  
No mar'l I heard a citizen complain once  
That his wife's belly once broke his back."

Cf. also Dekker's *Bachelors' Banquet*, cap. iii (quoted by Bullen, loc. cit.): "Consider then what cost and trouble it will be to have all things fine against the christening day. What store of sugar, biscuits, comfits, and caraways, marmalade and marchpane, with all kinds of sweet suckets and superfluous banqueting stuff, with a hundred other odd and needless trifles, which at that time must fill the pockets of dainty dames."

118. *I am their life, their Genius, the Poeticall fire.* Cf. Randolph, *Aristippus*: "But Sack is the life, soul, and spirits of a man, the fire which Prometheus stole, not from Jove's Kitchen, but from his Wine-celler, to increase the native heat and radical moisture, without which we are but drowsie dust, or dead clay . . . . but in Poetry, it is the sole predominant quality, the sap and juice of a verse, yea the spring of the Muses is the fountain of Sack; for to think Helicon a Barrel of Beer, is as great a sin as to call Pegasus a Brewer's Horse."

121. *you are come up of late,* Cf. Randolph, *Aristippus* "1st Scholar: Why, truly, his price has been raised of late, and his very name makes him dearer.

2nd Scholar: A diligent lecturer deserves eight pence a pint tuition."

Wine had advanced steadily in price since the middle ages, as may be seen in the successive edicts regulating its sale. Rogers (*A History of Agriculture and Prices* V, 476) gives the average prices for the three principal classes of wine-claret, sack, and muscadel-for the twenty years 1623-1642 at 2s 3d, 3s 7d, and 4s. The year 1621-2 saw a jump of 4d per gallon in the price of claret and sack. In 1623-4 both kinds had gone down again to 2s 4d and 3s 8d respectively. Then in 1624-5, they again rose to 2s 8d and 4s. It is probably this last advance which is specifically referred to in the text. In the years 1627-9 a marked rise took place in the prices of sack and muscadel (including malmsey, canary, and other sweet wines.) This would coincide with the allusions in *Aristippus* (*Aristippus* was a cant term for canary wine). Too much reliance must not be put upon the details of Roger's tables. The general rise in the price of wine through these years is, of course, established.

128. *From France, from Spaine, from Greece.* This is a pretty accurate enumeration of the chief sources of wine importation into England in the order of their

importance. On Greek wines in England see Cyrus Redding, *A History of Modern Wines*, 25 and 290. Cf. Howell, *Familiar Letters*, II, liv: "In Greece there are no wines that have bodies enough to bear the sea for long voyages; some few muscadells and malmsies are brought over in small casks." For an account of the wines used in England in the sixteenth century see William Turner's *A New Book of the Nature and Properties of Wines*, 1568, extract giving Enumeration of English wines, in Arber, *An English Garner* II, 113.

130. *Who dares denie that I have beene a travaille*. This argument and Beer's answer, "Art thou not kept under lock and key," appear in one form or another in many of the continental debates of Wine and Water. Cf. *Denudata Veritate* (DuMeril, *Poesies Inédites* p. 305), where Water says to Wine

Propter tuam pravitatem  
Nullam habes libertatem  
domos tenes parvulas:  
Ego magna sum in mundo;  
Dissoluta, me diffundo  
Per terrae particulas.

In the French *Débat* of the fifteenth century the argument is modified. Wine implies that it is shut up as being the more precious liquor, while water is left at large because it is valueless. (*Le débat du vin et de l'eau* in *Le débat de deux demoyselets*, p. 133.)

"Je suis gardé en grans vesseaulx  
En queus, en muya et en tonneaulx;  
Tu cours partout comme folle."

So also in the more popular French and German versions of the debate.

138. *Away hop of my thumbe*. In *Lingua*, which is generally supposed to have been revived and acted at Cambridge between 1616 and 1620 (*Modern Language Review*, III, 146, and *Retrospective Review*, XII, 33), the part of Small Beer was taken by a diminutive boy. The character Beere in the present play is scornfully addressed as "Small Beere" above, l. 637.

146. *the very preparative to a thousand rapes and murders*. Cf. *Denudata Veritate*, (DuMeril, *Poesies Inédites*):

Et qui tuus est amator  
Homicida fornicator" etc.

161. *Did not every man call you Bastard tother day*. Bastard was a sweet Spanish wine, resembling muscadel in flavor; the word was sometimes applied to any sweetened wine. *The New English Dictionary* cites Surfl. and Markh. *Country Farm*. (1616) 642: "Bastards. . . . seeme to me to be so called, because they are oftentimes adulterated and falsified with honey."

207. *old women and elder brothers*. i. e. to the disgust of their next heirs.

219. *To wash Bootes.* Cf. Shakespeare, I Henry IV, II, i, 74: "Chamberlain. What, the commonwealth their boots? will she hold out water in foul way? Gadshill. She will, she will; justice hath liquored her."

235. *an underlaid cobbler.* Underlay = to mend the sole of a shoe.

241. *Jones Ale's new.* A proverb. A ballad entitled "Jones (i.e. Joan's) ale is newe" is entered in the Stationers' Register, 16 October, 1594. Copies are preserved among the Douce Ballads in the Bodleian Library (I, fol. 99b and I, fol. 105b) See also Ebsworth's note in *Roxburgh Ballads*, VII, 164.

256. *fin'd for Alderman.* i. e. paid composition as the price of escaping the duties of office. cf. Pepys's Diary for Dec. 1, 1663: "Mr. Crow hath fined for Alderman."

257. *out of nicke and froth.* "Nick" is the false bottom of a beer-can. The phrase "nick and froth" was applied to a means of cheating in ale houses. The contents of the tankard was diminished from the bottom by the nick and from the top by an undue amount of froth. Between the two the hapless drinker had indeed small beer. See *New English Dictionary* under "nick" for quotations.

270. *printed Cum privilegio.* The allusion may derive special point from the perennial dispute between the Cambridge printers and the Stationers' Company of London. The controversy was particularly active during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. See Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, III, 138, 142, 161, etc.

273. *Alexander Ale.* cf. Taylor, *Drinke and Welcome* (1637): "Some there are that affirme that Ale was first invented by Alexander the Great."

285. *I Wine, comfort and preserve.* Cf. *Denudata* (DuMeril, *Poésies Intédites*, p. 307.)

Per me senex juvenescit,  
Per te ruit et senescit  
Juvenum lascivia:  
Per me mundus reparatur etc.

and *Le débat du vin et de l'eau* (*Le débat de deux demoyselles*, p. 133.)

"Le cuer de l'homme tien ioyeulx,  
Je conforte les hommes vieux;  
Tu amégris et ie tiens gras."

Also Hans Sachs, *Das streit-gesprech swischen dem wasser und dem wein* (Works. ed. A. von Keller, IV, 252.)

"Mein gegenwart die leut erfrewt.  
Ich mach schön roslet das antlitz,  
Vertreib sorg, angst, trübsal und schmertzen,  
Sampt allen unmut ausz dem hertzen."

291. *nil spissius illa.* The epigram from which these lines are quoted is attributed by Camden (*Britannia*, 1600, p. 495) and DuCange (*Glossarium under cerevisia*) to Henricus Abrincensis (Henri d'Avranches), an obscure court poet

of the time of Henry III of England. The verses, as given by Camden, are as follows:

Nescio quod Stygiae monstrum conforme paludi,  
Cervisiam plerique vocant; nil spissius illa,  
Dum bibitur; nil clarus est dum mingitur; unde  
Constat quod multas feces in ventre relinquit.

A translation of these verses, apparently independent of that in the text, occurs in Randolph's *Aristippus* (*Works*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 21), where the poem is ascribed to Ennius: "There is a drink made of the Stygian Lake," etc. For a remote parallel to these verses see the Epigram of the Emperor Julian, cited above, p. 10. Cf. Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien*. Berlin, 1887, 5th edition, p. 123.

304. *Ale from Ale.* The derivation appears to have been a commonplace. Cf. Randolph, *The High and Mighty Commendation of the Virtue of a Pot of Good Ale* (*Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 666): "O ale, ab alendo, thou liquor of life."

315. *But thou art come downe of late to a glasse, Wine.* Rather because of the statute against drunkenness than because of the rise in price.

363. *you are all my kinsmen.* Cf. Howell, *Familiar Letters*, II, xliv: "But we may say, that what beverage soever we make, either by brewing ~~by~~ distillation, decoction, percolation, or pressing, it is but water at first: Nay, Wine itself is but Water sublim'd."

375. *Water shall allow each of you a singularitie.* For the form of the decision and its resemblance to the judgment in *Work for Cutlers*, etc., see Introduction, p. 15, note. Cf. Johnson's dictum: "Claret is the liquor for boys; port for men; but he who aspires to be a hero must drink brandy." (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill, III, 381). The apportionment of wine to the court, beer to the city, and ale to the country is in accordance with tradition and fact. Cf. Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, Ed. of 1907, IV, 176: "Clownes and vulgar men onely use large drinking of Beere or Ale, how much soever it is esteemed excellent drinke even among strangers; but Gentlemen garrawse onely in Wine."

378. *nimble and active watering, to make their braines fruitfull.* Does the author have in mind Falstaff's famous panegyric on sack (II Henry IV, IV, iii, 92 ff)? "It ascends me into the brain; dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudyl vapours which environ it; makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shapes; which deliver'd o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit . . . . . Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manur'd, husbanded, and till'd . . . . ." Cf. also Randolph's *Aristippus*, quoted above, note to line 118, where there is also a resemblance to Falstaff's soliloquy.

379. *Fecundi calices quem non.* Horace, *Epistles*, I, v, 19: "Fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum."

386. *Bos lassus fortius figit pedem.* Hieronym. *Ep. 102 ad Augustinum (Corp. Script. Eccles.* vol. 55, p. 236), where the sentence is quoted as a proverb, warning the young man not to provoke the old to combat.

390. *from March to Christmas.* The best beer was brewed in March. Cf. Harrison, *A Description of England*, 1577, Bk. III, cap. I. (*Elizabethan England*, ed. Lothrop Withington, p. 93): "The beer that is used at noblemen's tables, in their fixed and standing houses, is commonly of a year old, or peradventure of two years tunning or more; but this is not general. It is also brewed in March and therefore called March-beer; but for the household it is not usually under a month's age." Cf. also "March-Beere," below. The excellence of English beer is well attested. Cf. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp. 9, 79, 109, and 190.

Andrea Trevisano, writing in 1497, says that where both wine and beer were served the latter was often preferred (ib. xliv).

395. *the person shall account you one of his best parishioners.* The allusion is to the so-called church-ales, held for the purpose of raising parish funds. Ale was brewed for the occasion and sold to the parishioners. Cf. Stubbs, *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1595 (Ed. Furnivall, New Shakespeare Soc., Ser. VI, No. 6, p. 150): "In certayne Townes, where drunken Bachus beares all the sway against a Christmas, an Easter, Whitsonday, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of ever parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, provide half a score or twentie quins of mault, whereof some they buy of the Church-stock and some is given to them of the Parishioners themselves, everyone conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault being made into very strong ale or beere, is set to sale, either in the church, or some other place assigned to that purpose. Then, when the Nippitatum, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this nectar of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is that he can get the soonest to it, and spends the moste at it, he is counted the godliest man of all the rest . . . . For they reparie their churches and chappells with it; they buy books for service, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, surplesses for Sir Ihon, and such other necessaries."

398. *bee allowed a Robin-hood, or Mother Red-cap to hang at your doore.* "Robin Hood" and "Mother Red Cap" are not uncommon as inn names in England today. There are or have been "Robin Hood" inns at Wisbach, Lithington, Gt. Cres-singham, Cherry Hinton, and Thetford in Cambridgeshire. Mother Red Cap signes are noted by Tarwood and Hotten (*The History of Signboards*) as occurring in upper Holloway; Camden Town; Blackburn, Lancashire; etc. The authors quote Braithwaite, *Whimsies of a New Cast of Characters* (1631): "He (the painter) bestows his pencils on an aged piece of decayed canvas, in a sooty alehouse where Mother Red-cap must be set out in her own colours." The name is common in folk lore. A Mother Redcap appears as the chief story telling gossip of Drayton's *Moon-Calf* (*Poems*, ed. Chalmers, *English Poets*, IV, 130 ff.):

Amongst the rest at the World's labour, there,  
Four good old women most especial were,  
Who has been jolly wenches in their days,  
Through all the parish and had borne the praise

For merry tales; one, Mother Redcap hight,  
 And Mother Owlet, somewhat ill of sight,  
 For she had burnt her eyes with watching late,  
 Then Mother Bumby, a mad jocund mate  
 As ever gossipp'd; and with her there came  
 Old gammer Gurton.

422. *dewe*, Dough.

429. *that will scarce cul Beere and 'twere buttered*. "Buttered ale" was a familiar drink in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

447. *Graves Wine*. A pun on *Vin de Graves*.

450. *New River*. An artificial waterway west of the Sea, terminating in a reservoir on the outskirts of London. See B. Lambert, *The History and Survey of London and its Environs*, II, 31.

472. *the statute*. The reference is to "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunckenness," first passed under James I, recited and enlarged at the opening of Charles II's reign (1625). See introduction, p. 7.

The law provided a fine or imprisonment in the stocks for each offense. See *Statutes of the Realme*, I Car. I, c. iv. In much the spirit of this rather contemptuous allusion is the following passage from Randolph's *Aristippus*: "*Simplicissimus*: But (methinkes) there is one *scrupulium*: it seems to be *actus illicitus* that we should drink so much, it being lately forbidden, and therefore *contra formam statuti*."

479. *The Song*. It is worth noting that the meter of this piece is apparently inspired by that of the old drinking song, "Jolly Good Ale and Old":

"I cannot eat but little meat,"  
 My belly is not good  
 But sure I think that I can drink  
 With him that wears a hood."

Randolph's poem, "The High and Mighty Commendation of the Virtue of a Pot of Good Ale" (*Works*, ed. Hazlitt, II, 662), has obvious connections with the same song:

"The hungry man seldom can mind his meat  
 (Though his stomach could brook a tenpenny nail);  
 He quite forgets hunger, thinks of it no longer,  
 If his guts be but sous'd with a pot of good ale."

512. *the chimney your nose*. Cf. the well-known anecdote of the servant who, upon seeing smoke issue from the nostrils of his master, endeavored to quench the fire with a pot of ale. This story was told of Tarleton in 1611 (See *Shakespeare's Jest-Books*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1864, ii, 211); it was later attached to the name of Sir Walter Raleigh and has descended to posterity associated with him. (Cf. Arber, *Works of James I, English Reprints*, p. 88.) The nose of the tobacco smoker is not infrequently referred to as a chimney. Cf. Beaumont, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I, iii: "Wife. Fie, this stinking tobacco kills me! would there were none in England!—Now I pray, gentlemen, what good does this stinking tobacco do you? nothing, I warrant you: make chimneys o' your faces!"

519. *Tobacco is a drinke too.* The expression "to drink tobacco" was in common use. Henry Buttes, in his *Diets Dry Dinner*, 1599, calls tobacco a "dry drink."

545. *I see Tobacco is sophisticated.* The adulteration of tobacco was in the seventeenth century and is today practiced for two purposes, to heighten the taste and to cheapen. For the first use of adulterants cf. Jonson, *The Alchemist*, I, iii, 21 ff., and Barclay, *Nepenthes* (1614): "They sophisticate and farde the same (i. e. poor, tasteless tobacco) in sundrie sortes, with black spice, galanga, aqua vitae, Spanish wine, anise" etc. For the second use of adulterants see Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, II, ii, 27 (Ed. Alden, *Yale Studies in English*, 35): "Three pence a pipe full, I will ha' made of all my whole halfe pound of tobacco, and a quarter of a pound of coltsfoot, mixt with it too, to itch it out." Cf. the pamphlet entitled *The Perfuming of Tobacco and the Great Abuse committed in it* (1611).

555. *all the virtues.* Cf. Thorius, *Hymnus Tabaci* (ed. of 1628, p. 9):

"In primis non una subest natura stupendo  
In folio: adversis dives virtutibus omnem  
Exuperare fidem gaudet."

559. *a heavenly quintessence, a divine herbe.* Cf. Sharpham, *The Fleire* (1600) (Ed. Hunold Nibbe, 1912, line 265): "the divine smoke of this Celestiall herbe." "Divine" was a traditional epithet for tobacco. Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, v, stanza 32: "Whether yt divine Tobacco were." Also Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, III, ii: "Therefore it cannot be but 'tis most divine." Again, *The Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (1602) (Reprinted by Collier, *Illustrations of Early English Literature*):

"There dids't thou gather in Parnassus clift  
This precious herbe, Tabacco most divine."

According to Howell, *Familiar Letters*, III, vii, the Spaniards called Tobacco the "holy herb."

567. *You destroy it.* Cf. the Wine and Water debates, in which this motive is recurrent. E. g. *Denudata Veritate* (DuMeril, *Poésies inédites*, pp. 304-5. 173):

"Mensa pro te (i. e. Aqua) non ornatur;  
Nullus per te fabulatur  
In tui praesentia,  
Sed qui prius est jocundus,  
Ridens, verboque facundus,  
Non rumpit silentia.

Tu (i. e. Vinum) scis linguas impediare  
Titubando solet ire  
Tua sumens basia;  
Verba recte non discernens,  
Centum putat esse, cernens  
Duo luminaria."

572. *Da puer accensum.* The quotation is from *Hymnus Tabaci* by Raphael Thorius, a French physician resident during the first quarter of the seventeenth century in London. The poem was first published at Leyden in 1625, although it had been written as early as 1610. The first London edition was published in 1627. The lines are thus Englished in Peter Hausted's translation of 1651:

"Fill me a Pipe (boy) of that lusty smoke  
That I may drink the God into my brain."

Paetum was one of the common designations of tobacco in the seventeenth century. It is said to have been the native term. A somewhat similar invocation to Tobacco is to be found in *The Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (1602), a piece which bears a considerable resemblance to Thorius's *Hymnus*.

The last part of book II of the *Hymnus* is devoted to Tobacco's power of inspiring eloquence and wit, and may have suggested the lines following the quotation in the text, which are repeated here from the tobacco passage in the first edition. But compare a similar passage in Sharpham's *The Fleire*, (1606), (Ed. Hunold Nibbe, 1912), l. 264: "Sure Ladies I must needes say th' instinct of this herb hath wrought in this Gentlemen such a divine influence of good words, excellent discourse, admirable invention, incomparable wit: why I tel yee, when he talkes, wisdom stands a mile off and dares not come neere him, for fear a should shame her: but before he did use this Tobacco, a was arrantst Woodcock that ever I saw."

591. *A knap-Jack man.* A misprint for knap-sack man?

592. *A list of his military postures.* A similar parody of the orders of drill is given by Addison, *Spectator*, 102, where a school in the art of handling the fan is described. "The Ladies who carry Fans under me are drawn up twice a Day in my great Hall, where they are instructed in the Use of their Arms, and exercised in the following Words of Command,

Handle your Fans,  
Unfurl your Fans,  
Discharge your Fans,  
Ground your Fans,  
Recover your Fans,  
Flutter your Fans."

In the rest of the essay each of these commands is explained. Cf. *Taller* 52 and *Spectator* 134 and 196. A list of the actual "postures" in the exercise of the musket is given in Robert Harford's, *English Military Discipline*, 1680, p. 2:

Shoulder your Musquet	Blow off your loose Corns
Lay your right hand on your Musquet	Cast about to Charge
Poise your Musquet	Handle your Charger
Rest your Musquet	Open it with your Teeth
Handle your Match	Charge with Powder
Guard your Pan	Draw forth your Scowrer
Blow your Match	Shorten it to an inch against your right
Open your Pan	Breast

Present  
Give Fire  
Recover your Arms  
Clean your Pan with your Thumb  
Handle your Primer  
Prime your Pan  
Shut your Pan with a full Hand

Charge with Bullet  
Ram down Powder and Ball  
Withdraw your Scowrer  
Shorten it to a Handful  
Return your Scowrer  
Poise your Musquet  
Order your Musquet."

Cf. also the "Exercise of the Pikes," ib., p. 4.

610. *I'me sure Tobacco will spoil it.* The charge that tobacco weakens the memory is made and answered by Thorius, *Hymnus*, pp. 30-31. The tobacco drinker never fails to remember in what chest he laid his treasure, says the poet, nor where his mistress has her dwelling. Furthermore, if tobacco did weaken the memory learned men would not be so addicted to its use.

625. *The wisest physicians prescribe my use.* The virtues of tobacco as a medicine were zealously advocated by some medical men and as hotly denied by others. An elaborate treatise on the medicinal uses of tobacco was published in 1626 by Johannes Neander of Bremen, entitled *Tabacologia, hoc est Tabaci seu Nicotianae Descriptio Medico-Chirurgico-Pharmaceutica, vel ejus Praeparatio et Usus in omnibus ferme Corporis Humani Incommodis.*" The chief uses of the herb are thus summarized in an epigram prefixed to this work:

"Ocellis  
Subvenit, et sanat plagas, et vulnera jungit.  
Discutit et strumas, cancrum, cancrosaque sanat  
Ulceræ, et ambustis prodest, scabiemque repellit," etc.

The following stanza from Barton Holiday's *Marriage of the Arts* as acted before King James at Woodstock in 1621, alludes to the most widely credited medicinal virtue of tobacco:

"Tobacco's a Physician,  
Good for both sound and sickly;  
Tis a hot perfume,  
That expells cold rheume,  
And makes it flow down quickly."

(Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, iii, 714.)

648. *the ladies begin to affect him.* Women had long since begun to smoke. Signior Petoune in Sharpham's *The Fleire* (1615) tells a group of ladies that the divine herb will beautify their complexions if taken of a morning. Edmund Howe, in his continuation of Stowe's *Annals*, edition of 1631, p. 1038, remarks that in his day tobacco was "commonly used by most men and by many women." Cf. Dekker, *Satiromastix* (1602): " 'Tis at your service gallants, and the tobacco too: 'tis right pudding, I can tell you; a lady or two took a pipe full at my hands, and praised it, fore the heavens." A portrait of 1650 shows a finely dressed lady gracefully smoking a clay pipe. (Fairholt, *Tobacco, its History and Associations*, p. 69.)

657. *he had fasted 3 or 4 dayes only with Tobacco.* Cf. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, III, ii: "I have been in the Indies (where this herbe grows) where neither myself, nor a dozen gentlemen more (of my knowledge) have received the taste of any other nutriment in the world for the space of one and twenty weeks, but tobacco only." Also Samuel Rowlands, *Knaves of Clubbs* (1611):

"Whenas my purse will not afford my stomach flesh or fish,  
I sup with smoke, and feed as well and fat as one could wish."

And *The Metamorphosis of Tobacco* (1602) (Reprinted, Collier, *Illustrations*, p. 39)

"All goods, all pleasure it in one doth linke,  
'Tis phisieke, clothing, music, meate and drinke."

Ib., p. 49.

"Here could I tell you how upon the seas  
Some men have fasted with it forty daies," etc.

669. *wine doth here enter into league with Tobacco.* Wine is compared with tobacco in Book II of Thorius's *Hymnus*, pp. 30-31. At the close of the discussion the author says that the two should be inseparable:

"Sic operas praestant inter se, juncta que multo  
Nobilibus sapiunt, quam degustata seorsim."

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# STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

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## THE CHARACTERS OF TERENCE

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## THE CHARACTERS OF TERENCE

The following paper embodies some of the chief results of an investigation of the characters that appear in the six plays of Terence. Before these results were reached, a very close examination was made of the characters in each play, and an attempt made to interpret characters of every kind, including mutes and even those characters that do not appear on the stage, in their relation to the story of the play. The present paper seeks to gather together the features of Terence's technique in character portrayal, as illustrated in that analysis. Of course this involves a change of method from the examination by plays, drawing its illustrations, as it does, from various parts of Terence's work.

To what extent Terence restricts himself to the characters of Menander and the other writers of the New Greek Comedy, goes beyond the limits of this paper. Such an inquiry involves a complete examination of the characters in the available material of Menander's work, and the commentators who had access to the larger literature. Neither is it possible here to state, with any degree of authority, how far Terence is restricted by convention in the choice of his characters. A more or less cursory examination of the commentaries of Donatus and Euphrasius and of the prologues of Terence himself strengthens the belief that a convention restricting the characters was a very strong restraining influence on the Latin poet. The present investigator, however, has not yet had the opportunity to make the necessary examination of the literature.

Unfortunately the names of characters in Terence are repeated, in the various plays, to the point of monotony. The name of Chremes, for example, is given to the character of the old man in the *Andria*, the *Hauton Timorumenos*, the *Phormio*, and to a young man in the *Eunuchus*. So also we find Sostrata in the *Hauton Timorumenos*, *Hecyra*, and *Adelphoe*. If we make mention of the heroine, we must label Pamphila or Philumena by one of the plays in which she appears. We find three courtesans by the name of Bacchis. This regrettable fact faces us, too, in the case of the young men, the slaves, the nurse. This very monotony of names indicates on the part of the author that these characters are types, a view commonly held regarding the characters of Plautus and Terence. In the main,

such a general conception is doubtless true; but we find also that it does not do to dismiss the characters of Terence, at least, with such a generalization. Within these types there are clear evidences that the author is not satisfied with *mere* types. In many cases we are aware that he pictures and portrays in clear and well-defined features such original people, that the character is defined more accurately as individualistic than as typical.

## I

We shall select certain characters of the plays for a comparative study. Some of the best material for such a comparison is to be found in the old men. Here we find, at the outset, a rather interesting variety. The old man is presented, now as the father, now as the lawyer, now as the patron.

The patron appears in the *Andria* in the person of Crito, and in the person of Hegio in the *Adelphoe*. Crito is a stranger to Athens, a kinsman of the foreign mistress of the story. Hegio, too, appears as the protector of the women. In each case they have a sort of semi-official character. Both are members of the old school of gentlemen who are chivalrous by nature, and see to it that justice is done the women of the play. Each might pass for the family lawyer who calls on his friends at a most opportune moment, though in fact one is a citizen, the other an Andrian. One comes on personal business of his own, the other is summoned by the slave, Geta. "Hospes," however, in its comprehensive usage, describes each. "Gentlemen of the old school" mark a type. They are in general alike. So Hegio and Crito could each play the other's part. They are characters not at all differentiated,—each upright, independent, benevolent, men of a stern sense of justice, stoical.

Really professional men are presented in the *Phormio* alone. These are the three lawyers, Hegio, Cratinus and Crito. Their namesakes of the *Andria* and *Adelphoe* also may be classified as semi-professional characters, patrons who could easily pass for lawyers. They are, however, quite unlike the lawyers of the *Phormio*. The latter speak in legal phraseology and with amusing dignity and severity. The former are, to be sure, very serious minded, sententious gentlemen, but they come on a mission to which they are equal; the

lawyers only make themselves ridiculous and leave poor Demipho in more perplexity than he was before, for Cratinus and Hegio hand down divergent opinions while Crito reserves his judgment. There is no satirization of their namesakes in the *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, while in the *Phormio* these gentlemen furnish the choicest bit of humor of the play.

These three in their serious demeanor are individualized as lawyers. Their professional character is written boldly in their legal formality, in their politeness, in the satirization of their uselessness as counselors to which they are subjected.

The fathers who represent life more widely portray men in their different phases of character. They go in pairs as foils to each other. In the *Andria*, Chremes is the moderate, well balanced, unselfish father; Simo is a suspicious, erratic scheming individual. Again, in the *Hauton Timorumenos* these characters are most strongly contrasted. Menedemus and Chremes are exponents of entirely different philosophies of life. As the play opens we have Menedemus before us with his great mattock in hand breaking the earthen clods in his field. He is in the depths of despair. Life holds no joy now that his son, the apple of his eye, is gone. He is modest, generous, frank-spoken. Chremes, on the contrary, who has a son safe and sound at home, is full of the activities of life: talkative, scheming, deceptive, miserly. In the *Hecyra* these old gentlemen are for the most part opponents but are almost duplicates of each other. The *Adelphoe*, more strongly than any other play, weighs the old men in the balances. The play and counterplay of their opposing theories of life forms the basis of the drama—the pessimist over against the optimist,—extravagance against moderation. In Micio and Demea each plays off the other. In the *Phormio*, too, Demipho and Chremes are different types of the old man character, though not so evidently foils as in the *Hauton Timorumenos* and the *Adelphoe*. In the *Phormio*, the two are working together for a common interest as they do in the *Andria*. The *Eunuchus* alone has but one old man and here Laches is subordinated and characterized hardly at all.

Although these characters in general are thus paired off in the play, each piece has its own people. The *Adelphoe* and the *Hauton Timorumenos* exhibit a marked contrast in treatment between Micio

and Menedemus, between Demea and Chremes. In the first place the problem that each has to solve is different. Micio is concerned with the pedagogic question of what theory it is best to adopt in training his boy. Menedemus cares not at all for theory: all he wants is the restoration of Clinia. In the second place they themselves exemplify different types of mind. Micio is patient and long-suffering, and an optimist. Menedemus is impatient and a pessimist. Yet each is the lenient father. So also Demea and Chremes are the stern fathers, but they could hardly be more unlike. Chremes of the *Phormio* furnishes likewise a study in contrast when compared with Chremes of the *Andria*. Their interests are centered, in each case, in a daughter; but one is an old hypocrite, a bigamist, who is trying to cover up his tracks; his daughter must be disposed of. He is a weak individual, dominated by circumstances and by fear of his wife. In the end, his double life is exposed. In the *Andria*, in direct antithesis to this, Chremes is a steady, responsible character, of good judgment, fair-minded, a pattern of virtue.

Such then are the varieties within the type of old man. But the varieties so far distinguished are differentiated only by the outward circumstances of the old men in their relations to the story. Terence goes still further in his portrayal of the individuals who make up the various groups.

To illustrate the distinct personality which Terence gives to these characters it will be well worth while to take two who fill largely the same part in their respective plays, for example, Chremes of the *Hauton Timorumenos* and Demea of the *Adelphoe*, and examine them in greater detail.

If a title were to be given to Chremes it would be the "meddler" or "busybody." Though knowing Menedemus ever so slightly, he feels called upon to remonstrate with his neighbor on his manner of life. A few moments later, finding that Clinia has returned from abroad, and thus arriving at the key to the whole situation, and though knowing he can restore his neighbor to happiness by restoring the son, he muddles matters by his propensity to meddle and scheme. He misrepresents to the young men the father's feelings: he persuades Menedemus to keep his son at a distance. He is happy only when indulging in some underhandedness. He had invited Phania,

a neighbor, to dine with him on this the feast of the Dionysia, but he has almost forgotten his guest in his interest in his neighbor's farming. He is the mediator in a boundary dispute<sup>1</sup> between his neighbors Simeo and Crito, but he gets excused so that he may engage in a plot with his slave, Syrus.

Says Menedemus:

“Chremes, tantumne ab re tuast oti tibi  
aliena ut cures, ea quid nihil ad te attinent?”

To which Chremes answers:

“Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.”<sup>2</sup>

“One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,”

at which pretty speech the audience, so the legend goes, shouted and applauded to the echo.<sup>3</sup>

Chremes preaches a fine philosophy of life but when the test comes he does not practice it for himself. He had counselled moderation for Menedemus<sup>4</sup> in handling a son. A father, too, should be sincere that no misunderstanding may come between them:

“Uerum nec illum tu satis noueras  
nec te ille; hoc ubi fit, ibi non uere uiuitur.  
tu illum numquam ostendisti quanti penderes  
nec tibi illest credere ausus quæ est æquom patri.”<sup>5</sup>

Yet in these very qualities of poise and open dealing Chremes shows himself absolutely lacking. In the final act his philosophy is put to the test, but he shows himself a man of violent passion. Finding that his son, with the aid of Syrus, has outwitted him, that the expensive lady, Bacchis, is his son's mistress and not Clinia's, he all but disinherits the boy;<sup>6</sup> he is willing to make his son out a changeling.<sup>7</sup> It is possible to reconcile the Chremes who meets Menedemus in his field with the Chremes of the fifth act only on the assumption that he

<sup>1</sup> ll. 499 ff. References are to the Teubner text of A. Fleckeisen.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 75-77.

<sup>3</sup> vid. St. August. Ep. 51. Cf. Cic. de Leg. 1, 12; de Fin. III, 19, 63; Seneca Ep. 95, 52.

<sup>4</sup> l. 440.

<sup>5</sup> ll. 153 ff.

<sup>6</sup> ll. 940-960.

<sup>7</sup> ll. 1012 ff.

does not practice his own philosophy. Addressing his son in his passion:

“Si scire vis, ego dicam; gerro, iners, fraus, helluo  
ganeo’s, damnosus: crede et nostrum te esse credito.

Cl. Non sunt haec parentis dicta.

Ch. Non si ex capite sis meo

natus, item ut Minervam esse aiunt ex Iove, ea causa magis  
patiar, Clitipho, flagitiis tuis me infamem fieri.

So. Di istae prohibeant! Ch. Deos nescio: ego quod potero, sedulo.”<sup>9</sup>

This is the *pater iratus* with a vengeance.<sup>9</sup> And it is the real Chremes. Before he was only preaching. Again we have him sermonizing to his son, but Chremes’s failings are well known to his offspring:

“is mi, ubi adbibit plus paulo, sua quæ narrat facinora!”<sup>10</sup>

As to the frankness which he once counselled, he is a stranger to it entirely. His deceitfulness goes hand and glove with his propensity to meddle and scheme. His lies are only more glossed over than Syrus’s bold falsifications. Menedemus in his confession made out a clear case of oversevere treatment of his son,<sup>11</sup> but Chremes a few moments later represents quite another case to Clitipho. He acts one part with Menedemus, another with the son. Though he has been up late drinking with Bacchis and her retinue the night before, in the morning he represents to Menedemus that he has not been able to close his eyes because of interest in him and his affairs.

He is a gentleman who can drink deeply and stand up under the influence of the wine, though it sets his tongue to wagging.<sup>12</sup> Syrus twits the old man on his drinking capacity:

“sed te miror, Chremes,  
tam mane, qui heri tantum biberis. Ch. Nil nimis.  
Sy. ‘Nil’ narras? uisast uero, quod dici solet,  
aquila senectus.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Il. 1033 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cl. Horace, *Ar’s Poetica*, on comic anger:

“Interdum tamen et vocem Comedia tollit  
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore.” (Il. 93-04)

<sup>11</sup> I. 220.

<sup>12</sup> Il. 99 ff.

<sup>13</sup> I. 220.

<sup>14</sup> Il. 518-521.

Chremes has the miserliness of the old man of comedy. Professedly his object in entering into the plot is to help his neighbor save the money that he will have to pay Clinia to gratify Bacchis's extravagant tastes. The whole counterplot of Syrus in which Chremes joins to his own undoing is built up on this stinginess of his master. Syrus, sly dog, no doubt has his master in mind when he describes to Chremes the character of Menedemus:

“(Clinia) habet patrem quendam auidum misere atque aridum,  
uicinum hunc: nostin? at quasi is non diuīs  
abundet, gnatus eius profugit inopia.”<sup>14</sup>

When Chremes discovers his long lost daughter he counts up the expense she has been to him: “ten minæ for board, another ten for clothes; and she will need two talents for her portion”:

“quam multa iniusta ac prava fiunt moribus.”<sup>15</sup>

Syrus plays on this characteristic of the old man, complimenting him on his opulence:

“omnes te inlautum esse in bene parta re putent.”<sup>16</sup>

Many instances of Chremes's susceptibility to flattery are offered by Syrus: on his lusty, hearty old age exhibited by his standing so well such a drinking bout,<sup>17</sup> on his correct judgment of women, as they used to be (olim),<sup>18</sup> on his sense in censuring Clitipho's seeming disloyalty to Clinia.<sup>19</sup> Syrus, too, humors Chremes by minimizing his own abilities and thus flatters the old man's estimate of himself:

“Chremes, uin tu homini stulto mi auscultare?”<sup>20</sup>

These details form a real portrait of an old man's foibles.

The stupidity of Chremes is finely characterized by the boldness of that part of the plot which introduces Bacchis into her lover's home under the very eyes of the father, who credulously accepts her as Clinia's mistress, finally pays all the bills; forgives the plotters; and confesses himself the butt of his own scheming, fleeced in the very

<sup>14</sup> ll. 526-528.

<sup>15</sup> ll. 835-839.

<sup>16</sup> l. 798.

<sup>17</sup> ll. 518-521.

<sup>18</sup> ll. 521 ff.

<sup>19</sup> ll. 581-582.

<sup>20</sup> l. 584.

manner he had recommended for his neighbor Menedemus. He becomes but the tool of Syrus, for whose cleverness he had openly expressed his admiration, whose head he couldn't but stroke.<sup>21</sup>

The art of the poet in character portrayal is manifested in revealing the real man underneath the flattering opinion he has of himself. He thought he could manage Menedemus's affairs better than his neighbor himself could. He thought he was an ideal of moderation and tact. He believed he could make money go a long way in dealing with young fellows. But the *dénouement* turns the tables completely. Menedemus is no longer the self-tormentor—but Chremes. His moderation is turned to passion. The old gentleman's financial finesse has cost him an expensive banquet for Bacchis and her retinue. He has paid a thousand drachmæ to buy his own daughter, though no one owned her. He calculates her wardrobe will amount to ten minæ and her dowry will call for two talents more. His self-sufficiency is all gone and he can vent his ill temper only on his wife.

Menedemus now has the satisfaction of comparing his own poor mental faculties with those of Chremes: "I know well I am not so very acute or so sharp witted: but this Chremes who undertakes to assist and advise and point out results to me, he outdoes me in this. Against me any of those terms which are the epithets of fools, apply,—blockhead, log, ass, leaden, (*cander, stipes, assinus, plumbeus*) but none of them can apply to him; for he goes beyond 'all these by his folly.'"<sup>22</sup>

Turning our analysis of character to Demea, of the *Adelphoe*, we note that he likewise is in sharp contrast to the other old man of the play, his brother Micio. He is a man of passion, given to extravagance of speech, opinionated, self-centered. When he finally comes to a knowledge of himself he describes himself as "rough, rigid, cross, miserly, stubborn":

"ego ille agrestis, sæuos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax."

He is a pessimist:

"Duxi uxorem: quam ibi miseriam uidi! nati filii:  
alia cura, heia autem, dum studeo illis ut quam plurimum  
facerem, contrui in querendo uitam atque ætatem meam:  
nunc exacta ætate hoc fructi pro labore ab eis fero,  
odium."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> ll. 761-763.

<sup>22</sup> Shuckburg's translation of ll. 874-878.

<sup>23</sup> ll. 866-871.

Then contrasting Micio's easy life with his, he exhibits his jealousy:

"ille alter sine labore patria potitur commoda.  
illum amant, me fugitant; illi credunt consilia omnia,  
illum deligunt, apud illum sunt ambo, ego dedertus sum;  
illum ut uiuat optant, meam autem mortem exspectant scilicet.  
. . . . . ego miseriam omnem capio, hic potitur gaudia."<sup>24</sup>

As Micio says, Demea always comes to wrangle<sup>25</sup> and criticize. Nothing is right but what he has done himself. Yet if Micio judges rightly he's no father at all:

"Natura tu illi pater es, consiliis ego."<sup>26</sup>

Demea is the pathetic character of the play, pathetic because he is made a target for ridicule by everybody. Sostrata, of course, is pathetic, but one could not laugh at her; while Demea is satirized even by his brother's slaves. As Syrus says:

"Primum ait se scire; is solus nescit omnia: rideo hunc."<sup>27</sup>

He has been proud of the results of his education of Ctesipho to be a copy of himself, and his whole world tumbles down when he finds he has been deceived, that it is Aeschinus who more nearly approaches the model son. He has been honest in the belief that his brother Micio is a weakling, and his grief becomes quite touching when in the climax his whole philosophy of life is shattered. Playing into the hands of Syrus he becomes a pitiable object. Supposing himself a fountain of wisdom he invites flattery and is moved to tears when Syrus praises the moral virtues of his beloved Ctesipho:

"O lacrumo gaudio."

"Saluos sit spero: est similis maiorum suom."

"Syre, præceptorum plenest istorum ille."<sup>28</sup>

"Oh, I know how to train a boy. I bid him look into the mirror of other men's lives and instruct him what to avoid and what to choose." "I use that selfsame method myself," says Syrus, "I instruct my fellow servants to look into their saucpans as into a mirror and suggest what they ought to do. I must look to those fish at once."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> II. 871-876.

<sup>25</sup> II. 79-80.

<sup>26</sup> I. 126.

<sup>27</sup> I. 548.

<sup>28</sup> II. 409-412.

<sup>29</sup> II. 413-432.

Sent to the country on a fruitless search for his son and to the other end of town to find Micio, though he is within calling distance and enters half a minute later, Syrus makes a downright fool of Demea and shows up his remarkable gullibility.

The extravagant cast of the old fellow's mind is illustrated wherever he appears. He says he could smell out his son's plans six months before the young fellow had begun to think of them.<sup>30</sup> He is "down-right ashamed" of Micio and tells his slave so. Every act of Micio's is *stultitia* and *flagitia*. He never sees things but on the one side—his own—and then as if through a magnifying glass.

The complete conversion of Demea in the final act is genuine. The excesses to which he goes in endeavoring to be affable still portray the same extravagant cast of mind and temper. Demea cannot take a middle course. It is scarcely a growth of character that is here portrayed. He has changed front, but there the development ends. His newly acquired friendly intimacy with the slaves, even with the rascal Syrus, with his brother, with his son, is all so bold and extravagant that we recognize the same Demea. His actions are as extreme as ever or more so. He has been a miser: now he is a spendthrift. "Cash will fail: *id minume report.*"<sup>31</sup> "Tear down the garden wall: make both houses one; expense be hanged; give Hegio a plot of ground; pay Aeschinus twenty minæ; free Syrus, he's an honest slave, and his wife Phrygia, too; and to cap the climax, Micio, by heaven, shall marry Sostrata."

One might wish that Micio would assert himself and refuse to marry the widow. As it is, the plot suffers, but Demea's character is maintained.<sup>32</sup>

Ribbeck,<sup>33</sup> as also Maclean and Long, explains this seemingly strange change of character, whether real or affected, as an attempt of the poet to counterbalance the tragic cast of the four other acts. In reality Terence is showing the absurdity of reforming a man of Demea's character. He may change front but the reformation will be an absurdity. Perhaps, too, he implies that Micio's is not the ideal after

<sup>30</sup> II. 395-396.

<sup>31</sup> I. 881.

<sup>32</sup> Long and Maclean state (p. 312) that Demea is now assuming a middle course. Quite the reverse is evidently the fact.

<sup>33</sup> *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung*, p. 152.

all. Diderot says, "We no longer know which side to take and after having been all along for Micio against Demea, we conclude without knowing whether we are for one or the other. One would almost desire a third father to preserve the golden mean between the two characters and to point out the faults of each."<sup>24</sup>

Madame Dacier thinks Terence is giving Micio a lesson: "The opposite characters of these two brothers and the inconveniences resulting from each perfectly point out to fathers the middle way in which they ought to pursue the education of their children, between the too great severity of the one, and the unlimited indulgence of the other."

The ideal theme, the moral of the play, is the Horatian moderation. Intemperance is satirized on every page. The turning of the tables is paralleled in the *Hauton Timorumenos* where Chremes and Menedemus change parts. The same theme is there as here in the *Adelphoe*, though the treatment of the characters is not so bold. And it is the *Andria* that gives us *ne quid nimis*.<sup>25</sup>

When Micio asks Demea for the explanation of his sudden change and the meaning of his capricious generosity he replies:

"Dicam tibi:

ut id ostenderem, quod te isti faciem et festiuom putant,  
id non fieri ex uera uita neque adeo ex aequo et bono,  
sed ex adsentando indulgendo et largiendo, Micio."<sup>26</sup>

This can scarcely be the poet's view, but shows Demea as still one-sided and unable to be converted from a persistent bias of mind. The contrast in character is maintained throughout the play.

Remarkably alike in their place in the two plots, Chremes and Demea are as remarkably unlike as men. They both claim to be ideal fathers; they are both meddlers in others' affairs; they are both miserly; and are the dupes of their slaves. In each play there is a turning of the tables in the climax. But we cannot imagine Demea a jovial member of Bacchus's midnight banquet, or his babbling too freely, when in his cups, to his son concerning his own earlier escapades. Demea is a Stoic: Chremes is a loose Epicurean. Demea would

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by Colman, II. 985 ff., p. 102, Vol. 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Andria*, I. 61.

<sup>26</sup> II. 985-988.

never have countenanced the admission of Bacchis and her retinue into his household. Chremes lies outright: Demea is a stickler for the truth. Nor are these differences of outlook on life demanded by the exigencies of the plot. It is evident that Terence did not allow a given plot to restrict him to a single stereotyped character. The comparison that we have worked out in the characters of Chremes and Demea may be extended throughout the series of the fathers. To summarize, the *Andria* gives us in Sosia, a mild-mannered gentleman who, when his purposes are crossed, becomes a passionate individual, while Chremes is well balanced, the opponent of his neighbor. The *Hauton Timorumenos* portrays a hypochondriac on the one hand and on the other a meddling old fellow who becomes the dupe of his own devices. The *Phormio* portrays in Chremes the hypocrite and his troubles. In Demipho we have a high-tempered, self-confident, bombastic man of strong character and individuality. The *Hecyra* affords the portrait of a testy old Laches who dominates his wife, but who exhibits a good heart in a crisis, while his neighbor, aping Laches's ways, plays only a poor second as an understudy. The *Adelphoe* shows up in glaring contrast Micio, the doctrinaire of an easy-going philosophy, and Demea, the strict Stoic and profound egotist.

Thus in general the keynote to each of these ten or twelve old men is different. Each exhibits individuality. Speaking and acting like men of average intelligence some of them become stupid when dealing with a wily Davos or Syrus. Here a proper series of cause and effect accompanies the individual, for the better of the old men, who are of sounder judgment, stand on a higher plane which the cunning of the slave does not reach.

## II

As in the case of the old men the youths go in pairs, with some variation. The *Andria*, the *Hauton Timorumenos*, the *Phormio*, the *Adelphoe* have each two young men. In the *Eunuchus*, in addition to the two lovers, two other young men appear who are not in love, the country youth Chremes, and Antipho, the friend of Chaerea. Chremes is sharply defined as an unsophisticated rustic, who is experiencing for the first time the heady feeling attending the passing from

jolly sober to jolly drunk, and who is now making his first acquaintance with the delightful ladies of Athens. Antipho is but a foil to Chaerea and appears to remove Chaerea from the action for the time being that the others may carry on the action. He is simply a convenient character—a semi *deus ex machina*.

All the other young men portrayed in Terence are in love. In each play, with the exception of the *Hecyra*, there is a double love intrigue—a primary and a secondary plot. In the secondary plot two unions result which moderns would call respectable,—that of Charinus and Philumena in the *Andria* and that of Clinia with a neighbor's daughter in the *Hauton Timorumenos*,—the latter hardly belonging to the play as the girl and her family are unknown and the arrangement is made in the last lines to mollify the old man, Chremes. In the other four plays each young fellow retains his mistress at the close of the play.

Touching the primary love intrigue, the heroine is known to be an Athenian citizen at the outset in the *Adelphoe* and the *Hecyra*. In the other four, the play itself works out the proof of citizenship. Only in the *Phormio* and the *Hauton Timorumenos* is there a thoroughly respectable marriage and even here, had there been no proof of citizenship the women would have been the young fellows' mistresses. In the *Andria*, the *Eunuchus*, the *Hecyra*, and *Adelphoe*, the heroine has been outraged by the hero.

Thus the part assigned to these youths is very similar in the various plays: and as a rule their characters are very much alike. They are all passionately in love. They are all of easy morals except the rustic Chremes in the *Eunuchus* and his inexperience is fully counterbalanced by the racy part played by Chaerea, who equals any other two of Terence's characters. Generally their speech consists of words of adoration for their mistresses, laments for their unfortunate lot in love or complaints of their fathers' harsh treatment. As a rule they are resourceless, relying on their slave or good fortune to mend their troubles—but living in a sort of fools' paradise. Often they exemplify their bringing up and are either a replica of or a contrast to their stern or complaisant parent.

Yet most of these young men have some predominating trait that differentiates them to some degree. Pamphilus of the *Andria* exem-

plifies faithfulness to a trust. Charinus is suspicious and selfish. "Charity begins at home" is his motto. In the *Hauton Timorumenos*, rashness, intemperance, extravagance, passion, characterize Clitipho. Phaedria and Chaerea in the *Eunuchus* are foils. Phaedria is the serious-minded, pious youth in love: "a cautious Philistine," Ribbeck calls him. Chaerea, a master masquerader, bold and self-assertive, puts his brother completely in the shade from the moment he appears. In the *Phormio* Antipho is a pessimistic, shifty, vacillating character, while Phaedria has a strong sense of humor and some initiative. In the *Hecyra* Pamphilus is a tender nature, "the sweetest, most engaging man on earth," says Bacchis. Aeschinus in the *Adelphoe* is a generous, frank, strong character, of a bold self-reliance—yet modest. He makes the most admirable picture of all of Terence's young men. He adores his adopted father, has a deep affection for his brother, is beloved by the slaves and yet with these softer graces he is self-reliant and can take a hand in a difficult situation as Sannio, the slave merchant, learns to his sorrow.

As to their morals, Terence's view is that of Micio. Youths will stray, but the marks of virtue he sees in them will reclaim them. In judging these young men, of course, it must be by the standard of ancient law, which looked on such vice as they exhibit as a matter largely of convenience. It is proper enough for them to have a mistress if they become loyal and faithful to their wives after marriage; and marriage seems to bring seriousness, in Terence.

The loyalty of the young men in friendship and love is their most admirable quality. They are suspected of disloyalty frequently enough and have abundant opportunity to fail in their trust. But in their relation as friends each to the other the pair plays into each other's hands. To the object of their love they are always true. In only one or two instances does the son yield even to the father. Clitipho and Pamphilus (*Hecyra*) finally agree to give up their Bacchis, though even here the arrangement hardly belongs to the play. In fact, Pamphilus's love for Philumena and his loyalty to her under most trying circumstances are a large part of the plot. True, he gave up his Bacchis before the play began, but here again the whole plot hinges on the fact that for months after his marriage, he is faithful in heart and life to his former mistress. Only gradually does he fall in

love with his wife. Clitipho, the weakest and most fickle of all, yields in the last lines of the play in order to restore peace to the household and renounces his Bacchis by promising to marry a neighbor's daughter—a girl, however, of his own choosing on whom he has already had his eye. But loyalty is the predominating trait of these lovers and friends. The same constancy of affection extends to the brothers and cousins.

They have little sense of humor. In all their escapades they are wonderfully serious. The business of love with them is an extremely grave affair. They sigh and groan, appealing to the gods in their perplexities, returning extravagant thanks when matters mend. Chaerea and Antipho, who is not a lover, in the *Eunuchus*, and Phaedria, in the *Phormio*, are more light-hearted and get some pleasure out of their predicaments. Aeschinus, too, as befits that reliant personality, laughs at the threats of the slave dealer, Sannio.

As a rule the young men are disappointing. With the exception of Chaerea of the *Eunuchus* and Aeschinus of the *Adelphoe* they are too stupid to be interesting. They have not the courage and dash that make youth attractive. Sentimental, puny specimens of manhood, their whole interest in life begins and ends in a love intrigue with a courtesan of the town. In contrast with the other lackadaisical fellows we can love the scapegrace Chaerea and the bold, generous Aeschinus. With all their human weaknesses (for Terence does not idealize his characters) these two possess the qualities that win admiration, not to mention interest. Aeschinus does break down doors and save a mistress—though not for himself. He does take upon himself the burden of shame for the more guilty Ctesipho, allowing himself to be regarded as the scapegrace of the family, though comparatively innocent. He is a frank, open-hearted youth, keeping no secrets from his adopted father, rewarding the trust that Micio reposes in him by a reciprocal affection:

"Di me, pater,

omnes oderint, ni magis te quam oculos nunc ego amo meos."<sup>77</sup>

"Ita uelim me promerentem ames, dum uiuas mi pater."<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> II. 700-701.

<sup>78</sup> I. 681. Cf. also II. 707 ff.

His bold self-reliance is well shown in his fearlessness in the scene with the procurer Sannio. Fearing not the threats of the slave dealer to bring the law against him, he boldly brings off the music girl to his own home. In his dispute with Sannio he completely discomforts the procurer:

“Uah, leno iniqua me non uolt loqui!”<sup>39</sup>

He puts Parmeno as a guard over the slave merchant with instructions to thrash the fellow whenever he is given the wink; which order Parmeno follows right zealously. Then Aeschinus lays down his terms. He will pay the slave dealer the bare principal the girl cost the procurer. If Sannio will not accept that, well and good: Aeschinus will claim the girl is a freeborn Athenian.

Aeschinus has no exalted opinion of his own virtues. Complimented by Ctesipho on his generous actions, he disclaims any great pride in them:

“Age, inepte, quasi nunc non norimus nos inter nos, Ctesipho.”<sup>40</sup>

Micio knows him for what he is:

“scortatur, potat, olet unguenta, fores ecfrigit, discedit uestem.”<sup>41</sup>

“quam hic non amauit meretricem? aut quo non dedit  
aliquid?

      . . . . . ecce autem de integro! nisi quidquid est  
uolo scire atque hominem conuenire, si apud forumst.”<sup>42</sup>

The adopted father believes him to be good at heart, however:

“ingenium noui tuom liberale.”<sup>43</sup>

Micio, in fact, puts a wonderfully complacent trust in both the young men:

“quæ ego inesse in illis uideo, ut confidam fore  
ita ut uolumus. uideo sapere, intellegere, in loco  
uereri, inter se amare. siris liberum  
ingenium atque animum: quo uis illos tu die  
redducas.”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> I. 187.

<sup>40</sup> I. 271.

<sup>41</sup> II. 117 ff.

<sup>42</sup> II. 149 ff.

<sup>43</sup> I. 683.

<sup>44</sup> II. 836 ff.

Sostrata has the highest regard for Aeschinus. When confronted with proof of his disloyalty, she exclaims:

“quid iam credas? aut quo credas? nostrumne Aeschinum!  
nostram omnium uitam, in quo nostræ spes opesque omnes sitæ!  
qui se sine hac iurabat unum numquam iucturum diem!”<sup>44</sup>

Coleman here compares these words of Sostrata to Desdemona's when she pleads for Cassio:

“What! Michael Cassio? that came  
A wooing with you, and so many a time  
When I have spoke of you dispraisingly  
Hath taken your part?”

Certainly the most racy if not the most attractive of the young men, from a moral point of view, is Chaerea of the *Eunuchus*. The younger brother of Phaedria, he is in every respect the antithesis of that distraught lover. He is in the public service at the Piraeus—a patrolman who guards the frontier. He is a mere youth—sixteen years of age, “ephebus,” and is the only young fellow in Terence who has any business or occupation.

Parmeno characterizes him for the audience as a heady fellow who will be the “limit” if ever he becomes involved in a love affair:

“ecce autem alterum,  
qui nescio quid de amore loquitur: o infortunatum senem!  
hic uerost, qui si occiperit, ludum iocumque, sat scio,  
dicet fuisse illum alterum, preut huius rabies quæ dabit.”<sup>45</sup>

He appears before the audience in great excitement. He has seen on the street a girl, Pamphila, over whom he has lost his heart and his head, and is now trying to find her after losing sight of her at a turning of the street. He has forgotten that he is expected to be a member of a party of young gentlemen feasting at the Piraeus today.<sup>47</sup> Parmeno asks him why he is so excited, and where he comes from:

“Egone? nescio hercle, neque unde eam neque quorsum eam:  
ita prorsum oblitus sum mei. . . . amo.”<sup>48</sup>

This seems to be his first case of falling in love,<sup>49</sup> and his extravagant delineation of Pamphila's charms bespeaks the extreme youth.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> ll. 330 ff.

<sup>45</sup> ll. 297-300

<sup>46</sup> ll. 539 ff.

<sup>47</sup> ll. 305-307.

<sup>48</sup> ll. 299-300; ll. 308-309.

<sup>49</sup> ll. 313 ff.; ll. 361 ff.; ll. 563 ff.

Chaerea's story of the old man who detained him on the street<sup>51</sup> and caused him to lose sight of the girl he was pursuing, sets off his youthful impetuosity. Archimenides seems to him to be a long-winded old prattler who wasted a whole hour giving him detailed instructions to hear his father on a law case. Chaerea himself spoke only in monosyllables: "Dic," "quid tum?"<sup>52</sup> He must catch the girl. The audience is therefore prepared for some rash impetuous part to be assumed by Chaerea. He is the one man to jump at the humorous<sup>53</sup> suggestion of Parmeno that he take the place of the eunuch whom Phaedria is sending to Thais. It is a bold scheme and worthy of the bold, un-thinking Chaerea. A handsome fellow—for so he is proclaimed,<sup>54</sup> dashing, careless, passionate, losing his head over a pretty face and attractive form, unrestrained in his assurance, he is the one character in comedy that could ravish a girl in the guise of a eunuch, be forgiven, and make an honorable marriage.

Chaerea undergoes a development of character as a result of his adventure. Strange to say, he keeps his head. While all the others are dumbfounded at the situation he puts on a bold front and really lives up to his earlier promise to Parmeno that he will assume the responsibility of his acts.<sup>55</sup> He plays his part as well as, when a youngster, he stole jam for Parmeno from his father's stores.<sup>56</sup> Assuming at first a cool attitude toward Thais,<sup>57</sup> he finally makes her his ally and friend, promising to marry Pamphila as soon as her birth is established. Chaerea has become sobered by his experience. Phaedria was steady before his love affair, but becomes distraught in advancing his cause with his mistress. Chaerea was a rattle-brained boy who is now master of affairs. He does appear at a disadvantage running around the alley-ways of Athens in a eunuch's dress, thus affording humor for the piece. Otherwise he is master of the situation.

<sup>51</sup> ll. 327-342.

<sup>52</sup> ll. 338-9.

<sup>53</sup> l. 378.

<sup>54</sup> ll. 681-2; ll. 686-7.

<sup>55</sup> ll. 388-389.

<sup>56</sup> l. 310.

<sup>57</sup> ll. 849 ff.

Nor is Chaerea without heart. He is not ungrateful for his fellow actors' kindnesses or the gods' favors to him:

"Quid commemorem primum aut laudem maxume?  
illum qui mihi dedit consilium ut facerem an me qui id ausus sim  
incipere, an Fortunam conlaudem, quae gubernatrix fuit,  
quae tot res tantas tam opportune in unum conclusit diem,  
an mei patris festiuitatem et facilitatem? o Iuppiter,  
serua obsecro haec bona nobis!"<sup>59</sup>

These two, Aeschinus and Chaerea exhibit the dash and daring that we look for in the hero. The other lovers are monotonous, insipid, namby-pamby, love sick.

Chremes and Antipho furnish an interesting variation from the lover type. Such a variation is so unusual, it may be not amiss to take notice of their relation to the plot. Antipho is Chaerea's closest friend.<sup>60</sup> He comes to get an explanation of why the feast of which Chaerea was given charge has not been arranged. He gives him an opportunity to narrate his experiences while playing the eunuch at Thais's house, an opportunity Chaerea is not slow to seize upon. After hearing the story Antipho takes Chaerea home with him to change his eunuch's clothes, for fear of Phaedria and his father has made Chaerea an exile from his own home.

This comprises the total part played by Antipho.<sup>61</sup> As a minor character he is a *deus ex machina* provided for the elimination of Chaerea for the time being. The presence, too, of Antipho's parents at his home, furnishes a reason for the reappearance of Chaerea before Thais in his eunuch's clothes—a demand made necessary by the sequel to the play. Antipho himself adds nothing to the action. He is a young fellow of rather cynical good humor. Surprised at the garb his friend wears, he cannot guess its meaning but he ventures that it means mischief:

"is est an non est? ipsus est. quid hoc hominist? quid hoc ornatist?  
quid illud malist?"<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> ll. 1044-1048.

<sup>60</sup> ll. 560-561.

<sup>61</sup> ll. 539-614.

<sup>62</sup> ll. 546-547.

Overhearing Chaerea wish that some curious fellow would fall in with him and bore him with questions, Antipho steps out from his hiding place:

“Adibo atque ab eo gratiam hanc quam video uelle, inibo,”<sup>43</sup>

and then proceeds to ask him all in one breath the very questions which Chaerea has outlined.

Told that the maid was entrusted to Chaerea's care alone, he ironically remarks: *satis tuto tamen.*<sup>44</sup> When Chaerea speaks of his modesty, *terram intuens modeste* in the presence of Pamphila, Antipho satirizes him by throwing out *miser.*<sup>45</sup> He would have liked to see Chaerea hold a fan for his ladylove:

“Tum equidem istuc os tuom impudens uidere nimium uellem,  
qui esset status, flabellulum tenere te asinum tantum.”<sup>46</sup>

Antipho is a fellow who makes little bluster but appreciates in a quiet way the humorous diversities of life. The delicate strokes in characterizing these minor personages of the play, contribute to making the *Eunuchus* the greatest of Terence's plays.

Chremes occupies a more important part in the plot. During her stay in Athens, Thais has discovered that he is Pamphila's brother and plans to use him for a double purpose, viz., to prove Pamphila's citizenship and secondly, to bring about a quarrel with the captain as soon as she gets possession of the girl. Chremes is greatly perplexed at being summoned by Thais. The attentions she showed him on a former visit were so marked that he begins to suspect that this meretrix has designs on him:

“iam tum erat suspicio,  
dolo malo haec fieri omnia.”<sup>47</sup>

“Somebody may ask me what business I have with her, and I don't even know. She asked about my country place at Sunnium; maybe that has taken her eye and she wants to filch me of it. When conversation grew cold she began on this, when did my father and mother die and whether I had lost a little sister. Maybe she wants to prove

<sup>43</sup> I. 557.

<sup>44</sup> I. 577.

<sup>45</sup> I. 580.

<sup>46</sup> II. 597-98.

<sup>47</sup> II. 514-15.

herself that sister."<sup>67</sup> Donatus says that in Menander's play, Chremes is a rustic, to whom the ways of town life are strange. This remark seems to fit Chremes here. His suspicions of a plot against him, his boisterous announcement when knocking at the door: "Ho there, ho there, anyone here? it's I, Chremes,"<sup>68</sup> his having a place at Sunnium near the sea, and his desire to leave town for the country<sup>69</sup> all proclaim him a stranger to Athens. When the maid Pythias addresses him as *o capitulum lepidissimum* she seems to be satirizing his country appearance;<sup>70</sup> and she wheedles him with pet names, much to his discomfiture.

Taken to the captain's house Chremes experiences his first bout at wine, and is sorely perplexed at his heady feeling, for he felt "jolly sober,"<sup>71</sup> (*pulchre sobrios*)<sup>72</sup> while he was at the banquet:

"postquam surrexi, neque pes neque mens satis suom officium facit."<sup>73</sup>

Pythias now appears to him a charming creature:

"chem, Pythias; uah, quanto nunc formonsior  
uidere mihi quam dudum! PY. Certo tuquidem pol multo hilarior.  
CH. Verbum hercle hoc uerum erit 'sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.' "<sup>74</sup>

Rustic that he is, he can quote only time-worn proverbs.

Confronted by the braggart captain with his retinue of valiant household soldiers, his "bundle of rogues," his *manipulus furum*,<sup>75</sup> Chremes is terror-stricken:

"militem secum ad te quantas copias adducere? attat . . . . .  
apage sis:  
egon formidulosos? nemost hominum qui uiuat minus."<sup>76</sup>

<sup>67</sup> IL 507-527.

<sup>68</sup> IL 530-531.

<sup>69</sup> L 533.

<sup>70</sup> L 531.

<sup>71</sup> Wagner's translation.

<sup>72</sup> L 728.

<sup>73</sup> L 729.

<sup>74</sup> IL 730-32.

<sup>75</sup> L 776.

<sup>76</sup> IL 755 ff.

He suggests that it's folly to run a risk that can be avoided.<sup>77</sup> A legal adviser is necessary.<sup>78</sup> Persuaded by Thais to stand by his post, he bolts the door. Thais has to put words in his mouth<sup>79</sup> and finds that this fellow whom she wanted for a protector stands in need of a patron himself:

"*huic ipsi opus patrono, quem defensorem paro.*"<sup>80</sup>

Only when barricaded in the house and from the vantage of an upper window does he make any show of bravery. A coward by nature, he now tries to make a good impression on Thais, aided by the effects of the wine, still in its heat.

Chremes is a slow thinker, a dullard. So he proclaims himself:

"*correxit miles quod intellexi minus: nam me extrusit foras sed eccam ipsam: miror ubi ego huic ante uorterim.*"<sup>81</sup>

Thais uses him as an excuse for a quarrel with the captain but he is entirely unaware of the meaning of her actions.<sup>82</sup>

He is thus portrayed as a dullard, boor, coward—easily wheedled by the domestics. He has to be made half drunk to put enough courage in him to play his part, subordinate though that part is.

### III

Thraso, the braggart captain, furnishes the only portrait of the *miles gloriosus* in Terence, though references are made to his kind in the *Hauton Timorumenos* and in the *Hecyra*. Thraso is a ridiculous character continually furnishing mirth, played off by his parasite Gnatho. Possessed of no mentality himself he plays into the hands of Thais and presents her with Pamphila whom he had purchased at Rhodes upon the death of Thais's mother, who lived there. The conceit that possesses the fellow makes him an easy prey to Thais's designs. He fancies all women love him at sight of his majestic person and soldierly bearing, and needs little encouragement to give up Pamphila. Then Thais immediately quarrels with him and his career with her ends.

<sup>77</sup> L. 761.

<sup>78</sup> ll. 763-764.

<sup>79</sup> ll. 766 ff.

<sup>80</sup> L. 770.

<sup>81</sup> ll. 737-738.

<sup>82</sup> ll. 744-5.

The predominating traits of Thraso are his boastfulness, his vanity, and his gullibility at the hands of his Gnatho. The parasite lavishes upon him the boldest flattery, but Thraso perceives no flattery in such compliments.<sup>83</sup> Gnatho in his comments makes hits at the captain's conceit and that, too, very thinly veiled. When Thraso boasts that everything he does is admired extremely even by the King himself, Gnatho suggests that maybe he appropriates glory that has been won by others' labor:

"Labore alieno magno partam gloriam  
uerbis sepe in se transmouet, qui habet salem;  
quod in test."<sup>84</sup>

To which his master answers, "You've hit it." "The king trusted his whole army to me,"<sup>85</sup> says the captain. *Mirum*, satirizes the parasite. But the irony is lost. Thraso takes it for genuine admiration. If an idea hasn't entered the captain's mind, it's merely, says Gnatho, because he never thought of it.<sup>86</sup>

In short the braggart is full of himself:

"Inuidere omnes mihi."<sup>87</sup>  
"Est istuc datum  
perfecto, ut grata mihi sunt quæ facio omnia."<sup>88</sup>

Words fail him when he tries to express why the king, wearied with other men and the cares of business, took such delight in his company. Gnatho obligingly comes to the rescue with the suggestion that Thraso's company would act as an emetic—*expueret*,<sup>89</sup> which the captain takes for a compliment.

Thraso has served in the wars with the great King Pyrrhus, at least so he says. He was the confidant of that prince. To him all the military stratagems were entrusted. On one occasion he even took down the pride of the commander of the Indian Elephants.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> ll. 391 ff.

<sup>84</sup> ll. 399-401.

<sup>85</sup> ll. 402-403.

<sup>86</sup> ll. 451-453.

<sup>87</sup> l. 410.

<sup>88</sup> ll. 395-6.

<sup>89</sup> ll. 403-406.

<sup>90</sup> l. 413.

Many a time he has worsted his opponents by his wit—even the Rhodians. But his jokes generally only bespeak his turpitude.<sup>91</sup>

The slave Parmeno knows the class to which Thraso belongs, and abominates him:

“Di uostram fidem! Hominem perditum  
miserumque et illum sacrilegum.”<sup>92</sup>

Thais, too, detests him:

“Usque adeo eius ferre possum inepiam et magnifica uerba,  
uerba dum sint; uerum enim si ad rem conferentur, uapulabit.”<sup>93</sup>

She knows that an empty head is back of his bold front:

“Sane quod tibi nunc uir uideatur esse hic, nebulo magnus est.”<sup>94</sup>

And truly he turns out to be a mere vaporer. His storming of Thais's castle to recapture his lost Pamphila—for he is as niggardly as he is zealous—is turned into a farce. He is as much a coward as the rustic, Chremes. He takes his position—as did the great Pyrrhus—in the rear. Worsted as a Pyrrhus, Thraso now assumes the part of Heracles: he surrenders to Thais and will serve her as Heracles served Omphale.<sup>95</sup> He is glad to come into any share of her good graces. On Gnatho's recommendation of his master as “a dolt, a fool and a blockhead,” he is admitted to the company of Chaerea and Phaedria to be fleeced of his wealth. Characteristically Thraso feels greatly honored and expresses his appreciation:

“Bene facisti: gratiam habeo maximam.  
numquam etiam fui usquam, quin me amarent omnes plurimum.”<sup>96</sup>

In *Lore's Labour's Lost*, Thraso's character is summarized:

“Holofernes says 'Novi hominem tamquam te.' His humour lofty, his discourse peremptory, his tongue filed, his eye ambitious, his gait majestic and his general behavior vain, ridiculous and Thrasonical.”<sup>97</sup>

Compared with Plautus's Pyrgopolinices, in the *Miles Gloriosus*, Thraso is the more natural character. Pyrgopolinices is always

<sup>91</sup> vid. ll. 415, 426, 479.

<sup>92</sup> ll. 418-419; vid. also l. 490.

<sup>93</sup> ll. 741-2.

<sup>94</sup> l. 785.

<sup>95</sup> l. 1027.

<sup>96</sup> ll. 1091-1092.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted by Colman on l. 401.

boasting of combats and blood,—in the clouds. Thraso is comparatively reserved, never becoming verbose, nor using the extravagant bluster of Plautus's character. Terence makes his braggart prouder of his wit than of his military exploits.<sup>98</sup>

## IV

The two parasites of Terence, Phormio and Gnatho, belong to different classes of their kind. Phormio belongs to the class of Θεραπευτικοι, or the officious, who secure their invitations by some services rendered. Thraso gains his ends by flattery. He belongs to the class, Κόλακες. Phormio has a perfect command of the situation. The plans he forms are unassailable, his reasoning is unanswerable. More than that, he wins to himself every character except the two old men. Good cheer radiates from his person. To those he cares to make his friends he is an attractive fellow if only they could overlook his profession. Playing with his dupes as with a toy, Phormio carries all before him, never admitting defeat as possible. Phormio is triumphant. Gnatho, on the other hand, wins his way not by powers of stratagem in a plot, as does Phormio, but as a sycophant, a flatterer, acting at the same time the part of counselor to his patron, always with an eye to his own advantage. His is not a strong individuality like Phormio's. His advice is hackneyed: he has no insight into the real complexity of the situation. His patron, Thraso, loses his suit and is made the butt of the young fellows. Knowing his master thoroughly, Gnatho does not hesitate to use the boldest flattery. He laughs more than the audience at the captain's jokes. Phormio would not stoop to act the clown. He is dignified—almost it would seem of the same social station as his master's. Gnatho's wit is cheap and his manner superficial. Phormio's humor is psychological, his character of greater depth. Phormio is the heavier Terentian creation. Gnatho approximates the Plautine.

It would be possible for these two parasites to appear in the same play without duplicating each other, so strongly are their traits and habits differentiated. The slaves, Geta and Parmeno, envy them the ease with which they make their living, so naturally do they carry off

<sup>98</sup> For this criticism and further contrast of the two captains, vid. Riley's trans. (1853), note on l. 25, *Eunuchus*.

their part. But Phormio is the dainty connoisseur. Gnatho is the "barbarous porridge eater."<sup>99</sup>

A third parasite is described by Gnatho. In this fellow we see one of their profession in defeat and despair:

"homi<sup>n</sup> homo quid prestat! stulto intellegens  
quid interest!"<sup>100</sup>

he exclaims, calling to mind this "shabby, dirty, sickly," specimen. "Hic ego illum contempsi præ me."<sup>101</sup> Gnatho, in contrast, is outwardly resplendent: "qui color, nitor, uestitus, quæ habitudost corporis."<sup>102</sup> This unnamed fellow is scarcely recognizable as a parasite, so great is the contrast with the resplendent, assertive Phormio and the boastful Gnatho, for he is down and out of the game of life.

Moulton derives the parasite from the old Megarian farce in which comedy originated, and finds him in the character in the title of a play of Epicharmus.<sup>103</sup> Ribbeck makes him a figure borrowed from the court of oriental life.<sup>104</sup> However that may be, the parasite would seem to be a figure too well established in Greek society, to need any accounting for in a comedy of manners.

## V

In the rôle of the male slaves we find the most characteristic feature of the *Palliata*. Two of them are protatnic characters serving to start the play, Davos of the *Phormio* and the freedman Sosia of the *Andria*. In three pieces the slaves are paired and are foils. In the *Andria*, the laggard Byrrhia sets off the wily Davos. In the *Hauton Timorumenos* Syrus dominates Dromo. In the *Adelphoe* Geta and Davos are opposing characters. Davos of the *Andria* is a typical representative of the slave who takes the part of the young master and schemes to get the better of the father. He hesitates not to cheat and lie, to misrepresent and cajole. He takes on himself all responsibility for his acts, risking the punishment that he fears awaits him. He is the chief functionary in the movement of the play and is removed

<sup>99</sup> *Plautus Most.*, l. 815.

<sup>100</sup> ll. 232-3.

<sup>101</sup> l. 239.

<sup>102</sup> l. 242.

<sup>103</sup> *Ancient Classical Drama*, p. 262.

<sup>104</sup> *Geschichte der Römischem Dichtung*, p. 83.

from the action only by being put in the stocks at the order of the old master. Davos, too, provides the humor of the comedy. The other characters are too serious, too engrossed in the dilemma to see the humor in any of the situations. But Davos is light-hearted. Syrus of the *Adelphoe* alone surpasses him in cunning and lying. Syrus would rather not tell the truth if he can avoid it. An extravagant fellow, he never does anything by halves. He succeeds, however, only in getting the whole situation so complicated that almost every other character is put in a ridiculous position, tragic enough for them. A *deus ex machina* in the person of Hegio alone can unravel the maze woven by Syrus. Another strongly defined type of the crafty slave is Syrus in the *Hauton Timorumenos*. He originates, without even consulting the young master, the whole business on which the plot rests—the introduction of the courtesan Bacchis. He was sent only for Antiphila, but considering himself the guardian spirit of the whole household, why not, he asks himself, do a good turn and advance Clitipho's intrigue as well as Clinia's. The bolder the scheme, the easier it will be to dupe old Chremes. He even professedly takes the old man's side, who instructs him to use the privileges he as a slave enjoys. Priding himself on his ability to lie, he laughingly exclaims that he can deceive either by telling the truth or by a falsehood, and puts that theory into practise with perfect success.

These three master hands and Phormio are the arch intriguers of Terence. Not all the slaves are as bold fellows as these three. Geta of the *Phormio* and Parmeno of the *Eunuchus* are more faintly drawn. They are, indeed, against the old men and for the young fellows. They have no fellow slave associates. Parmeno is no dolt, but he engages in no scheming. He becomes a side issue, for Pythias can outdo him in playing a joke, and Chaerea dominates him. Parmeno even appeals to the old Laches to relieve the situation and thus throws the youths on the generosity of their father—an unprecedented proceeding on the part of the slave. Geta of the *Phormio* does not play so modest a rôle as Parmeno. He is closely in touch with the arch schemer Phormio, and rubs shoulders with all the main actors of the play. Though a schemer by nature, he does not run to the excesses of the Syruses or of Davos. Geta's *forte* is rather to elucidate the situa-

tion, for he is possessed of a ready tongue and is a born actor. Hardly has some new development arisen before Geta has reported his findings in a characteristically dramatic style and flow of rhetoric.

The stupid slave, the dolt, is represented by Dromo in the *Hauton Timorumenos* and by Parmeno of the *Hecyra*. Dromo acts in concert with Syrus but exerts himself only when led by his fellow. He himself is incapable of cunning. The old man Chremes says he is not a slave worthy of the name. To his young master he is of no service. Parmeno, too, of the *Hecyra*, though his is the only slave part in the play, is completely under the thumb of the young Pamphilus. The relation of slave and young master is reversed from that which holds when the Syruses or Davos play the part. Parmeno is kept away from the scene of action, for the *Hecyra* admits of no wily slave and underhanded dealings. Only the women are in possession of the secret to the complexity.

Again we have in Geta of the *Adelphoe* the faithful slave, the supporter of the family of Sostrata and her daughter. He is a conscientious fellow of intelligence, devoted to his family. With him may be classed the freedman Sosia of the *Andria*, the confidant of the old man Simo. These two form the most pleasing picture of the slave in his relation to the household.

In some subordinate characters we have other types, who belong to the lower grades of slave life. Dromo in the *Andria* is a lorarius or flogger of slaves. Dorus of the *Eunuchus* is a black eunuch. The braggadocio's slaves, too, who make up the mock army, Thraso's "bundle of rogues," are introduced in the *Eunuchus*. Parmeno in the *Adelphoe* beats the slave merchant Sannio whenever Aeschinus winks and then disappears. The slave boy Dromo runs in, and in half a dozen words betrays to the father the whole secret of his young master. Storax is mentioned as one of the *adversitores* who accompany their young master home at night. These slaves are not characterized at all except as menials who render abject obedience to their masters.

The slaves of Terence then cannot be classified as good and bad, nor as scheming and stupid. There are grades.<sup>105</sup> We really have four or five types: first, the scheming, bold, deceptive Davos and Syruses; second, the more moderate Geta of the *Phormio* and Parmeno

<sup>105</sup> But vid. Ribbeck, *Römischen Dichtung*, pp. 73 ff.

of the *Eunuchus*; third, the stupid Dromo of the *Hauton Timorumenos* and lazy Parmeno of the *Hecyra*; fourth, the faithful Geta of the *Adelphoe* and the freedman Sosia, who, as a servant may be classed with the slaves; and, finally, the lower grade as represented by the floggers or Dorus, or Thraso's mock army.

Of the character of the slave dealer we have two distinctly individualized types, Dorio of the *Phormio* and Sannio of the *Adelphoe*. Dorio appears in but one short scene, but the character of the man and the knowledge on the part of the other characters that he is not to be trifled with, give a basic motive for the action throughout. Sannio, on the other hand, is but an incident of the *Adelphoe*. Aeschinus makes short work of him: he hesitates not at all to thrash him soundly and make his bargain afterwards. These two slave merchants are alike only in that money is their passion. Dorio carries all before him. Sannio is cringing and begs for mercy. Dorio has a dry irony. Sannio is cross-grained and incapable of humor. The self-assurance of Dorio, the lofty tone, the contemptuous smile, the suave manner, is entirely lacking in Sannio.

## VI

The women of Terence may be considered in four classes, viz., the wives or mistresses of the household, the heroines, the members of the meretrix class, and finally the female servants.

The wife does not appear, nor is she referred to in the *Andria* or the *Eunuchus*. The *Hauton Timorumenos* and *Hecyra* sketch three types of the wife who is dominated by her husband. Though timid and shrinking from the outbursts of passion vented on them by their consorts, they rise above themselves when their children are threatened. Sostrata comes bravely to the defense of her scapegrace son, Clitipho. A strong bond of affection binds Pamphilus and his mother in the *Hecyra*. Myrrhina has risked all in the protection of her daughter. Pathetic characters as they are, yet they are triumphant in the *dénouement*. Laches and Phidippus never even learn the secret of the entanglement, and Chremes yields on condition that his son marry,—but the girl is one of the choosing of the boy and his mother.

The shrewish wife is portrayed in the *Phormio* but is not over-drawn. Nausistrata does not break out in a violent denunciation of

the hypocrite she has for a husband. When he is exposed she assumes an air of disdain and contempt which is left to the actor to emphasize—a fine instance of Terence's moderation in character portrayal. The part played by husband and wife is reversed here from that in the *Hauton Timorumenos* and *Hecyra*. Chremes is exposed. The wife's charge of her husband's inability to manage her property is justified. The husband becomes the butt of satire.

There is not, however, an entire lack of pleasant relations between the heads of the family. In the *Hecyra*, Laches and Sophrona give an illustration of real affection, sympathy, and unity of purpose. The old man and the old woman agree that this sort of life is too strenuous: they will retire to the country and leave the young people to themselves. They are *de trop*.

Sostrata in *Adelphoe* and the Lemnian wife of Chremes in the *Phormio* are the most pathetic. One is dependent on her slave Geta for the necessities of life; her daughter has been sinned against by Aeschinus and then seemingly abandoned. The other has innocently contracted a bigamous marriage with Chremes who has assumed a false name. Deserted and penniless she makes her way to Athens with her daughter and nurse and dies of a broken heart.

Sostrata of the *Hauton Timorumenos* is a sentimentalist. Nausistrata of the *Phormio* is the dominating influence of the household, while Myrrhina, in the *Hecyra*, carries out a secret plot and her husband never discovers the part she has played. In the same play Sostrata's sweet disposition is brought out by proving her innocent of a charge of repelling personality. In the *Adelphoe* the lonely widow, friendless and penniless, is perhaps the most pathetic of any character in Terence. Alike in that they are all pathetic, these matrons exhibit the various qualities of womanhood—affection, sentimentality, sweetness of disposition, termagancy.

Of the heroines the *Andria* has two, the other plays one. The term *heroine* is applied to those lady-loves who in the final solution of the play are differentiated from those of lighter virtue, though the music girls and possibly some of the courtesans, Thais for example, may with perfect propriety be so designated. In fact, the love of

Phaedria for Thais forms the genuine love affair in the *Eunuchus*. The courtesans, however, are not strictly heroines, for with them an honorable marriage cannot be contracted.

In only two instances do the heroines appear on the stage—in the case of Antiphila of the *Hauton Timorumenos* and Pamphila of the *Eunuchus*; and the latter does not speak. Except in the case of Antiphila we know nothing of their personalities except as reported by other actors. The young men, of course, enlarge on their beauty. Simo, the old man in the *Andria*, gives a most charming picture of Glycerium's physical attractiveness. The slaves, too, testify to their charms, e. g., Syrus in the *Hauton Timorumenos*, Parmeno in the *Eunuchus*, Geta in the *Phormio*. Some of these young women are passed over in silence except in so far as they are necessary to the plot. Pamphila in the *Adelphoe* is left unpraised. But as a rule they are described by the lovers and slaves as charming creatures. Pamphila of the *Eunuchus* is most famed for her alluring beauty. Every character of her acquaintance is impressed by it. Thais, the foster-mother, Thraso, Gnatho, the young Chaerea, her uncle, Parmeno, all accord her the palm as the greatest beauty of their day.

The virtue of these young women is also enlarged upon. Though four of the seven have been sinned against by their lovers, all are virtuous and a legal marriage is consummated after proof of Athenian citizenship has been established. Such a proof is worked out in four plays, *Andria*, *Hauton Timorumenos*, *Eunuchus*, and *Phormio*, in three of which the girl is shown to be the daughter of one of the old men. In the *Hecyra* as in the *Phormio* the marriage has taken place before the opening of the play.

These characters are very much alike. They are all beautiful, virtuous, young, and are scarcely differentiated at all, except as heroine types in contrast to the women of the courtesan class, and here they resemble them in their possession of good looks. Sometimes, as in the *Andria* and *Eunuchus*, their life has been closely associated with the meretrix of the piece, who is their patroness and friend—practically a sister. Again, as in the *Hauton Timorumenos*, they have been under the influence of some old woman who is only semi-respectable. Even in the *Hecyra*, Bacchis, the former mistress of the young husband, appears and has an interview with Philumena, the young wife.

In all, the representation of virtue in the heroine is heightened by the introduction of the courtesan. The delightfully frank conversation between Antiphila and Bacchis contrasts most clearly the two characters,—the unaffected simplicity of the one, the wiles and mercenary interests of the other who trades on her beauty.

These young women are all made to suffer. Glycerium and Pamphila (*Adelphoe*), in the pangs of child-birth, are rent with the fear that their lovers have deserted them: Pamphila (*Eunuchus*) is in tears and dismay at the outcome of the adventure of the scapegrace Chaerea: Philumena, an honored wife, has an unacknowledged child and her own husband is the villain: even the more fortunate Antiphila and Phanium are outcasts. All are victims of loose-living men and their lot is tragic. Terence has not an instance of humor or satire in their delineation. They appeal to our sympathy and call forth not a smile.

The courtesans as portrayed by Terence are of two classes, those whose hearts are pretty well hardened and those who still possess many of the finer qualities of womanhood. The latter predominate. Chrysis, Thais, Bacchis (*Hecyra*) all play the part of benefactress to the unprotected heroine.

Chrysis is characterized only by reference. Bacchis of the *Hecyra* appears in but one scene. But Thais and Bacchis of the *Hauton Timorumenos* are a large part of the play and may be taken as representative. Thais is modest and unassuming, with a natural kindliness of heart and manner. Bacchis, the antithesis of Thais, is a loud-voiced, mercenary creature. She has no interest in life beyond money-getting. Her interest in Clitipho is mercenary and transient. She has no preference for him in comparison with the soldier—if the ten minæ are not forthcoming. Clitipho himself characterizes her as “petrax, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis” (*Haut.*, l. 226). Her saucy airs and extravagant manners, her great retinue of attendants and display of jewels are meant to impress the young men with the need she has for money to maintain her position. Parmeno, of the *Eunuchus*, says this parade is all outward: that at home these women are dirty, lazy, stingy, objects of disgust. Chaerea testifies to the embellishments of their homes,—suggestive pictures, dainty couches, baths, retinues of slave girls. But they have hearts, says Terence, and

Chrysis and Thais prove it so. Bacchis of the *Hauton Timorumenos* laughs it all off and plays the part that she may make provision against her old age.

These four are the full-fledged courtesans. Another type is the music girl. Pamphila of the *Phormio* and Callidia (Bacchis) of the *Adelphoe* provide the girls for the secondary love plot in their plays. They are less experienced in their profession than Thais or Bacchis or Chrysis,—little more than the “noviciae” of Thais’s establishment. They are slaves in the hands of Dorio and Sannio. Only by some good fortune, the friendship of some courtesan or the suspicion that they are Athenian citizens have the heroines often been saved from the lot of these young girls. Tender in years, beautiful, inexperienced, they have not yet set up an establishment of their own. Like Thais they are left in the hands of the young lover, but a marriage cannot be contracted in the nature of the case. They are not individualized. Each is accomplished in music. Thus their value as slave girls is enhanced.

Philotis is a more common meretrix. She has been abroad, has led an uncongenial life with a tyrant soldier at Corinth, and now again practices her profession at Athens. She belongs to the lowest order. Syra, her companion, the old woman lena, alone has less attraction than she. Prototypes of this old hag appear in the background of other plays. Such a character is hinted at in the old woman who controlled Antiphila when Clinia went abroad and who caused the young lover to fear for the virtue of his sweetheart. She is in the background of the *Phormio* when Antipho approaches the old nurse as if she were a lena. The mother of Thais is of the same character. Syra, however, is the only such character who really appears, or of whom there is any portrayal of character or personality. Syra is not only the most unattractive but the most useless character in Terence.

Servant women are found in every play. The nurse is the character common to all, and the only female servant in the *Phormio*, *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe*. Archylis of the *Andria* does not appear, and probably Canthara (*And.*, l. 769) is the family nurse. In the *Hauton Timorumenos*, *Eunuchus*, *Hecyra*, *Adelphoe*, she appears for but a few lines and scarcely speaks at all. In the *Hauton Timorumenos* and *Eunuchus* she performs the same function,—the recognizing of the

trinkets in the possession of the young girl, thus establishing the heroine's Athenian birth. In the *Phormio* also she establishes the fact that Antipho's wife and Chremes's daughter are one and the same. In the *Hecyra* she is fetched by Laches from outside the household. In the other five plays she has been in the family long years. She is characterized in the *Andria* and *Hecyra* as fond of good eating and drinking. The name *Canthara* in the *Andria*, *Hauton Timorumenos*, *Adelphoe* may indicate her tippling propensities or else that she dispensed the wine of the household. With the nurse may be classed also *Lesbia*, the midwife of the *Andria*, known also for her tippling. She does not belong in the household, and is a foil to the painstaking, devoted nurse. *Mysis* wishes she would practice her profession elsewhere rather than choose her household for an exhibition of rashness.

The fidelity of these old nurses to their mistresses is their prevailing characteristic. Two of them are more clearly individualized than the others, *Canthara* of the *Adelphoe* and *Sophrona* of the *Phormio*. *Sophrona* plays a more ambitious part than any of the others, who are little more than figureheads, who utter a word or so when prompted by their companion. But *Sophrona* is a forceful personality. She is even responsible for the marriage of *Phanium* and *Antipho*. At the death of the girl's mother she assumes the responsibility and acts as the head of the household, and gives *Phanium* in marriage to save her from the perils of poverty. Only *Canthara* of the *Adelphoe* is comparable to her and she fills a much more modest place in the story. Outside of these two there is little individuality. As a rule the nurse is but a stock character, common to all plays.

A second class of female servants is the maid-servant of the young heroine or of the courtesan: *Mysis* of the *Andria*, *Phrygia* of the *Hauton Timorumenos*, *Pythias* and *Dorias* of the *Eunuchus*. *Phrygia*, one of *Bacchis*'s retinue, is characterized not at all. *Phrygia*, the wife of *Syrus* in the *Adelphoe*, is only mentioned by name. *Mysis* has little humor or alertness of wit. She is mere putty in the hands of wily *Davos*, who characterizes her as one of the *hetæræ*. But *Pythias* is a girl of lively humor, who delights in a bout with the slave *Parmeno* and against whom she easily proves herself a match. The slave maid of *Thais*, she is a vivacious little hussy who approaches closely to the *ingénue* of modern comedy. Coming on the stage constantly during

the last half of the play, she enlivens the movement. She takes privileges in her address to Chremes, Chaerea, Parmeno and even her own mistress. She has some fun with the rustic Chremes upon finding him knocking at her door,<sup>106</sup> and increases his suspicions that there is a plot laid for him by these city ladies. He furnishes her more amusement when he returns from the captain's house somewhat drunk.<sup>107</sup> But she loses her temper when Chaerea confronts her:

"uix contineo me quin inuolem  
monstro in capillum."<sup>108</sup>

When Chaerea expresses his admiration for Thais, Pythias cautions her to beware of the young fellow, if he shows signs of becoming enamored of her; *she* wouldn't trust him in anything.<sup>109</sup> As to admitting him again into the house she thinks Thais puts far too much reliance in him.<sup>110</sup>

"Neque pol seruandum tibi  
quicquam dare ausim neque te seruare. apage sis."<sup>111</sup>

Pythias also turns her attention to Parmeno. He, she is sure, is the prompter of all this mischief.<sup>112</sup> Old scores may now be settled:

"Inueniam pol hodie parem ubi referam gratiam."<sup>113</sup>

"Please God," says she, "I hope I shall have the chance to make him suffer after my own fashion."<sup>114</sup> Aware that Chaerea is being treated better than he deserves, she trumps up a cock and bull story, and represents to Parmeno that the boy is bound and about to be castrated for a ravisher. She frightens Parmeno so thoroughly that perforce he confesses the outrage to Laches. This delights Pythias immensely:

"Numquam edepol quicquam iam diu quod magis uellem euenire  
mi euenit, quam quod modo senex intro ad nos uenit errans.  
mihi sole ridiculo fuit, que quid timeret scibam."<sup>115</sup>

<sup>106</sup> ll. 531 ff.

<sup>107</sup> ll. 727 ff.

<sup>108</sup> ll. 859-860.

<sup>109</sup> ll. 883-884.

<sup>110</sup> l. 897.

<sup>111</sup> ll. 903-4.

<sup>112</sup> l. 718.

<sup>113</sup> l. 719.

<sup>114</sup> l. 720.

<sup>115</sup> ll. 1002-1004.

"Perii,  
defessa iam sum misera te ridendo."<sup>116</sup>  
"Numquam pol hominem stultiorem uidi nec uidebo. ah,  
non satis potest narrari, quos ludos præbueris intus."<sup>117</sup>

Pythias speaks her mind freely to Phaedria, too. She tells the story of Chaerea's folly so convincingly that she puts that serious-minded youth at his wit's end. "Now do you fully believe I'm sober and have told you no lie?" she exclaims when Phaedria is cornered. Phaedria seems to recognise Pythias as possessed of keen insight for he turns the eunuch, Dorus, over to her to be questioned about the astounding affair at Thais's house.

Energetic, possessing a glib tongue, free to express herself, Pythias lords it over her own household and woe to anyone who threatens its peace, if they come to be dealt with at her hand. She is devotedly loyal to Thais, and therefore the maiden Pamphila is entrusted to her special care. But a female slave of such a jolly, mischievous disposition is found nowhere else among Terence's characters. The delicate strokes in portraying the minor characters of the *Eunuchus*, Chremes, Antipho, Pythias, contribute to the making of the *Eunuchus* the greatest of Terence's comedies. The girl Dorias is but a foil to Pythias. Mysis and Pythias are two individualized types of the slave girl, the one lively and bold, the other serious and unassuming. Pythias is spicy and lends humor to the *Eunuchus*. Mysis is incapable of a joke, much less of playing pranks on Davos.

## VII

These, then, are the characters of Terence. They all belong to the middle class of society, the outgrowth of the Athenian democracy. There is no portrayal of court life or the manners of an imperial capital, or of the refinement or decay attendant on a brilliant social centre.<sup>118</sup> Terence's comedy is a comedy of manners. A political comedy had been attempted by Naevius but had resulted in his exile. The public attack of Aristophanes, in political comedy, was never revived at Rome. As a result we have in Terence no philosophers, no statesmen

<sup>116</sup> II. 1007-1008.

<sup>117</sup> II. 1009-1010.

<sup>118</sup> vid. Schlegel's "Dramatic Literature", Lecture XIV.

or political characters of any sort. The lawyers of the *Phormio* are the nearest approach to any such persons. Nor are there any tradesmen, or scarcely a character engaged in any active business. Chaerea of the *Eunuchus* alone of the young men has a serious occupation. He is on patrol duty at the Piraeus; but we have only an incidental note of the fact. Chaerea is not portrayed as a military youth. Chremes, the country youth, in *Eunuchus*, it may be assumed, is a farmer, and his rural training is pictured in his lack of knowledge of life and his boorish manners. Menedemus has adopted farm labor as a penance but he is no farmer. And in general the men, old and young, are without occupation. All belong to a well-to-do middle class who are supported by the income from their estates. The marks of an occupation are perhaps emphasized in the lawyers of the *Phormio*, and in the boastful soldier of the *Eunuchus*.

The scenic arrangements unquestionably restrict the variety of characters. All the action of the drama was supposed to take place in the open air. By convention the scene is a public street or a square where three or four streets meet.<sup>119</sup> The main characters are residents of the neighborhood. Their homes are within view of the audience. They are therefore domestic personages: old men, their wives, sons, a daughter, slaves, maid-servants, a nurse, all living within the houses facing the stage. Others appear who have business with these domestic personages: the meretrix, a leno, a parasite, a distant kinsman, a soldier, a lawyer. We have no picture of the inner shrine of the home.

This cast of characters provides variety enough for a play. The *Andria*, for example, has twelve characters besides the meretrix Chrysis and the heroine Philumena; the *Phormio* thirteen, the *Eunuchus* nineteen. But if a comparison be made between the plays, the parts represented grow monotonous. Two old men meet us in every play but the *Eunuchus*. They all occupy the same position in society and fill practically the same function in the plot. They all are involved in the love intrigues of their sons or the marriage of their daughters. So also the sons are all passionately in love,<sup>120</sup> their life is centred in a mistress of whom their fathers disapprove. The hus-

<sup>119</sup> vid. *Introduct.* Ashmore's *Terence*.

<sup>120</sup> It is noteworthy that the youths who are not lovers belong outside the households of the stage.

bands are eternally arguing with their wives. The life in an Athenian household appears to consist largely in a combat between father and mother over the discipline of the son. Open affection on the part of the old men appears only in the widower Menedemus and in the old bachelor Micio, Aeschinus's adopted father.

In the young men we have altogether too little variety. They are too much alike;—with rare exceptions they are dull and uninteresting,—without the dash of youth. They have, indeed, individually some distinctive keynote, but viewed as a whole they form just one class, the lover—and this lover becomes a hackneyed, stock character by the time we have examined half of the plays.

In the slave we have all grades of intelligence. All the slaves of the household are portrayed from the confidant of the old gentleman to the cook and the lorarius. Syrus and Davos have the greatest intelligence and engage in deep-laid schemes. Geta of the *Phormio* and Parmeno of the *Eunuchus* play a more moderate rôle. Sosia, the freedman, and Geta of the *Adelphoe* represent the dutiful, conscientious slave, while Dromo and Byrrhia are dullards. We have the lively and gay, the gloomy and grumbling, the lazy and dull. But the *Adelphoe* presents Syrus and Geta and Dromo and Parmeno. These are the types. The *Andria* practically repeats the parts in Davos, Sosia, Byrrhia and Dromo. So when the type reappears in every piece and the part he has to play is worked again into the plot, the final result leaves much to be desired in point of variety. As a character the slave is indispensable. He provides the action and much of the humor of the play. Lose him and we lose all. The process of filching money from the old gentleman's pocket and the guaranteeing of a wife or a mistress for the young gentleman are highly entertaining: but monotony of plot makes only for monotony of character.

The two parasites really furnish more variety than the dozen or more slaves. Gnatho and Phormio, we feel, belong to different types of men, almost different strata of society, and the type is not repeated to the point of surfeiting. This vastly enhances the interest in them and in their individuality. The same holds for the two slave merchants, Sannio and Dorio.

The foreign mistress belongs to every play. The characters are finely drawn. We admire Thais and Chrysis immensely. We reflect with pity on the music girls. We wonder at the boldness and dashing airs of Bacchis. Notwithstanding the repetition of the character in the various plays we find in this meretrix character much variety, heightened most probably by the fact that we learn more of her in Terence than belongs to the experience of moderns. We have first the young girl who is scarcely more than a novice in the hands of the slave merchant, or under the control of some old woman; secondly, the full-fledged courtesan, generally portrayed as possessing much kindness of heart and capable of generous actions; and finally the old woman lena, like Syra or the old women in the background, who have once been meretrices but now trade on young novices. All are pitiable. The blooming young girl, Pamphila, soon develops into the boisterous Bacchis, who in turn soon loses her charms and becomes early in life the cross-grained old Syra, eking out a pitiable existence.

The heroines are the most disappointing of all unless it be their young lovers. We are told that reputable unmarried women at Athens could not appear in public and are therefore excluded from the stage.<sup>22</sup> In the *Eunuchus*, however, Terence has introduced the beautiful Pamphila. Being under the patronage of Thais, perhaps she is regarded as being on the border line. Since, however, Terence has made bold to introduce her, a real heroine, we cannot but feel that the play suffers by the absolute disregard for her presence: for she remains dumb and no actor notices her presence through the fifty lines that follow her entrance with the parasite Gnatho. It is, therefore, with a thrill of delight that we find that Antiphila in the *Hauton Timorumenos* is to be a live character speaking frankly with Bacchis and meeting her lover on his return from abroad in a true love scene. Her presence and delightful conversations add a world of interest to the *Hauton Timorumenos*. She is a character that makes no second appearance. The other heroines are lifeless and dumb, introduced as useful to the plot but providing no variety. They are as monotonous as the nurse who appears in every play,—a stock character.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted from Varro by St. Augustine, *de Civit. Dei*, XVIII, 9.

The ancients themselves recognized the lack of variety in these characters. Says Ovid (*Amores*, B. 1, El. 15):

"Dum fallax seruos, durus pater, improbus leno,  
vixerit et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit."

The characters are stereotyped as the adjectives indicate. Manilius (V. 11, 472-473) has his list:

"Ardentis iuuenis, raptasque in amore pueras,  
elusosque senes, agilesque per omnia seruos."

Apuleius gives almost a complete summary of the characters:

"et leno perfidus et amator feruidos  
et seruulus callidus et amica indulgens  
et uxor inhibens et mater indulgens  
et patruus obiurgator et sodalis opitulator  
et miles proeliator sed et parasiti edaces  
et parentes tenaces et meretrices procaces." (*Florida*, XVI, 64.)

The fixed character of the plot is pointed out by Isidorus (*Origines*, XVIII, 46):

"Comoedia sunt qui privatorum hominum acta dictis ac gestu caneabant  
atque stupra virginum et amores meretricum in suis fabulis exprimebant."

Terence himself in his prologues states that he employs only characters that had already been made familiar to his audiences:

"quod si personis isdem huic uti non licet,  
qui magis licet currentem seruom scribere,  
bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,  
puerum supponi, falli per seruom senem,  
amare, odisse, suspicari? denique  
nullumst iam dictum, quod non sit dictum prius.  
quaे ueteres factitarunt, faciunt novi." (Prol. *Eunuchus*, ll. 35-42.)

Or again:

"——seruos currrens, iratus senex,  
edax parasitus, sycophanta autem impudens,  
auarus leno." (Prol. *Hauton T:im.*, ll. 36-41.)

Commenting on which, Euphrasius remarks:

"hæc, autem, quaे nunc nominauit, propria uidentur esse personarum, nam  
serui officium est currere, senis irasci, parasitus autem edax est, impudens sycophanta,  
leno auarus est."

The devices of the intrigues are so similar, the plots have so many points in common that a lack of variety of characters is the result.

We do not see these various characters of Terence grow and develop as the play advances. They end where they began, not permanently

affected by the other actors of the story. Simo in the *Andria* seems to undergo a retrogression from a fair-minded individual to a man of passion. When the storm has blown over, however, he yields a half consent to his son's marriage. In the *Hecyra*, Laches and his wife grow closer together as a result of the recent quarrel, but it is not clearly evident that a permanent unity of interest has been established that will affect their future relations. We have only an incident of the story. Demea shows a violent change of front in the *Adelphoe*; but his character is not much changed. He is the same immoderate, extravagant, violent individual as before. He professes to have undergone a complete conversion, but he is a man that could never develop or be truly reformed. His temper is the same. Chaerea makes some advance. From a dashing, irresponsible boy he grows in a day to a sense of responsibility.

These instances come nearest to a growth of personality. There is nothing approximating, for example, the gradual unfolding of a Shakespearean character. This is inevitable in the classic drama. Within so limited a space of time and place it is unnatural for a man to be permanently affected. A violent conversion, such as Demea's, is all that is possible. There is not the time for reflection, for purpose to alternate with purpose, for growth by stages. We think of Macbeth as hurrying on to his crime with fearful rapidity after his meeting with the witches, but he has had weeks for reflection.<sup>122</sup>

Shakespeare's men live in a sort of ideal world. They are mastered by their imagination. Terence's people live in a matter-of-fact world and the incidents of an Athenian household are merely passing phases in their experience. Their real life is in the Boulé and the Prytaneum or in the Stoa, for, I take it, there is more portrayal of the Athenian character in Demosthenes or Plato than in Menander.

Unquestionably Terence is restricted by various conventions—a convention as to variety of characters allowable, a convention of plot, a convention of scenic arrangements. These are the regrettable features of his comedy. Out of these conventions, if we may so designate them, arise the several monotonous features that cannot but be deplored. But if, in spite of these and possibly other limitations, Terence rises above his restrictions and exhibits a remarkable tech-

<sup>122</sup> vid. Hudson's *Shakespeare: His Art and Characters*. pp. 173-174.

nique in character portrayal, the genius of the poet is all the more noteworthy. The notable advance of Terence's diction over the Latin play writer of only a generation earlier is universally recognized. The advance in character portrayal is as remarkable. The purpose of this paper will have been accomplished if these defects and redeeming features in technique have been faithfully and adequately illustrated.

The strength of Terence's characters lies in their unity and moderation. Nothing is overdrawn. Nothing is forced or twisted to bring the character within the limits of the scheme. "Térence ne la force pas du tout, et c'est là qu'est le charme."<sup>123</sup> There is none of the bold conception of Plautus, but rather a cultured, sympathetic insight into and appreciation of men. Urbanity and humanity must have permeated the man and these qualities are reflected in the poet. All is natural, truthful, a delineation of nature.<sup>124</sup> This moderation and consistency constitute the greatest charm of Terence's characters. The people of his comedy are good for all time and all conditions. The words of Apuleius in praise of Menander are as fittingly applied to Terence:

"Quis (quibus personis) in cuncta suam produxit secula uitam  
Doctor in urbe sua lingue sub flore Menander  
Qui uite ostendit uitam uerbisque sacrauit."<sup>125</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Sainte Beuve, *Nouveau Lundi*, T. 5.

<sup>124</sup> vid. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*.

<sup>125</sup> Apuleius, *Florida*, V, 474-476.

## CHARLES WESLEY BAIN

Professor Charles Wesley Bain, head of the department of Greek at the University of North Carolina, died at Chapel Hill on March fifteenth. He was born in Portsmouth, Va., in 1864. After preparing at Galt's school in Norfolk and at McCabe's University school in Petersburg, he received his collegiate training at the University of Virginia. In 1895 he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of the South. He began his career as teacher in a private school of Savannah, Ga. He then taught in the Rugby High School of Louisville, and later was classical master at McCabe's School. From 1895 to 1898 he was head master of the grammar school of Sewanee, Tenn. In 1898 he was called to the chair of Latin and Greek at the University of South Carolina, where he remained until in 1910 he accepted the headship of the department of Greek at the University of North Carolina. In 1913 the University of South Carolina conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in the same year he was made an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa by the chapter at the University of Virginia. He was a member of several learned societies and held many positions of honor and trust.

Professor Bain was the author of the First Latin Book in the Gildersleeve-Lodge series, of an edition of books VI and VII of the *Odyssey*, and of a book of selected poems of Ovid for use in the schools. He was a contributor to the *American Journal of Philology*, the *Sewanee Review*, the *Nation*, and *STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY*. He was especially distinguished for his work in Greek syntax. He combined, as few men are able to do, the most exact scholarship in investigation with that enthusiastic and interesting presentation of his subject in the classroom which won for him the whole-hearted application and loyal devotion of his pupils. He was a man of the highest principles in public and private life and was possessed of the courtly manners of the gentleman. The phrases "an ideal teacher" and "a gentleman and a scholar" give expression to the esteem in which he was held.







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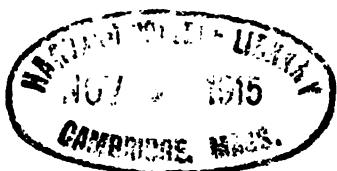
## The "Act Time" in Elizabethan Theatres

By

THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES

(*Assistant Professor of English in  
Trinity College*)

CHAPEL HILL  
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY



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## THE "ACT TIME" IN ELIZABETHAN THEATRES

After reading the recent treatises of Lawrence<sup>1</sup> and Neuendorff<sup>2</sup> regarding entr'actes of Elizabethan drama, one is surprised to find that the evidence marshalled by these writers has not exploded forever the theory that performances unbroken by the "act time," or act-intermission, were a regular feature of the theatres during Shakspere's days. But certain exponents of so-called alternation staging cling doggedly to an idea which seems to bolster their much- vexed theory. Chief among these, perhaps, is Professor Brandl, who has recently attempted a refutation<sup>3</sup> of the arguments advanced by Lawrence and Neuendorff.

The mistaken notion of continuous performances has not only been used to support a theory of staging which must be abandoned, or at least vitally modified. Worse than this, it has apparently led some to believe that no less a person than Shakspere was so accustomed to these performances unbroken by act-intervals that he deliberately ignored the matter of act-divisions in the composition of his dramas. Only a few months ago, to illustrate, we had from such a well-known writer as Professor Brander Matthews, the following extremely inaccurate and misleading passage: "We have been taught to suppose that Shakspere chopped up his plays into a tumultuous sequence of changing scenes. But it is more than doubtful whether he himself conceived any of his plays (except possibly half a dozen) in the five-act form; and it is certain that he did not himself imagine them as separated into a host of episodes, each of which took place in a separate spot. In the folio of 1623, which seems to be the earliest text derived from Shakspere's own manuscripts, only seventeen out of the thirty-seven plays are divided into five acts; and in no one of the quartos published in his lifetime, and conforming to the actual performance more or less closely, is there warrant for any splitting up of the play into a heterogeneity of scenes such as annoys us in almost every modern edition. For this division into acts and this subdivision into scenes we are indebted to the mistaken zeal of Rowe."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, I, pp. 75-96.

<sup>2</sup> *Englische Volksbühne im Zeitalter Shakespeares*, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Archiv für das Studium der neuern Sprache u. Litt.*, April 1911, pp. 241-48.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakspere as a Playwright*, p. 20.

Now it is my object in the present paper to show the weakness of the arguments for continuous performances as advanced by Professor Brandl especially, and to accumulate evidence<sup>5</sup> sufficient, I think, to establish beyond all reasonable doubt that the "five-act form" with regular act-intermissions was the rule in the London theatres throughout the Elizabethan period; and while it may be admitted that semi-continuous or quasi-continuous performances—that is, performances broken by only one or two act-intermissions—were sometimes resorted to, they were a rarer exception, I think, than even Lawrence is inclined to believe.<sup>6</sup>

### I. DURATION OF PERFORMANCE

One of the arguments for continuous performances, especially in the public theatres, is that "the two hours' traffic of the stage" was too brief a period to permit act-intermissions. This, we are told, is especially true of the longer plays of the period. Such an argument has arisen in consequence of a too literal interpretation of various obvious understatements by Elizabethans and the mistaken notion that public theatres, since they were entirely dependent on natural light, were compelled to begin their performances early enough and present them rapidly enough to avoid the coming of darkness.

It is somewhat surprising that certain scholars are willing to accept at their face value the various statements by Elizabethans that the stage presentation of plays occupied only two hours. That there were a few plays condensed to the two-hour limit may be admitted. It is possible, for example, that *George-a-Greene* and the first quarto editions of *Merry Wives*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Henry V* are based ultimately on such shortened versions; but if one will take the trouble to read aloud an Elizabethan play of average length, one will find that the mere reading will require almost the full two hours. Are we to suppose that a large number of these printed plays of average length contains material that was "never spoke," as the quarto of Jonson's *Every Man Out* has it? Again, it will be noted that in prac-

<sup>5</sup> I have, of course, used a good deal of evidence that Lawrence and Neuendorff have already cited in this connection. Cowling's *Music on the Shakespearean Stage*, which one would naturally think of value, is so general and inadequate in the discussion of the entr'acte as to be of little service.

<sup>6</sup> *Eliz. Playhouse*, I, 86-88. Lawrence, to illustrate, cites as probable examples of semi-continuous plays *Histriomastix* and *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*.

tically all, if not all, of the references to "two hours' traffic of the stage" there are good reasons why the writer should use the minimum round number in speaking of plays that lasted less than the full three hours. Some of these references to time are obvious apologetic understatements:

"The stubborne author of the trifle crime  
That just now cheated you of two hours' time"  
(Epilogue to *The Scholars*.)

"If all my powers  
Can win the grace of two poor hours"  
(Chorus to I of *Mayor of Queenborough*.)

Others are artistic promises in order to mislead those who, as Glapthorne puts it,

"for shortnesse force the Author run,  
And end his Play before his Plot be done."

Note the following:

"I'll fetch you off, and two hours hence you may  
(If not before) laugh at the plot and play"  
(Prologue to *The Brothers*.)

"But, good or bad, have patience but two hours"  
(Prologue to *The Duke's Mistress*.)

"I'll undertake may see away their shilling in two short hours"  
(Prologue to *Henry VIII*.)

"You shall hear  
Scenes, though below his art, may yet appear  
Worth two hours' travel"  
(Prologue to *Two Noble Kinsmen*.)

Similar to the examples above are the "battle will be ended in two hours," "two hours' traffic of the stage," "a good tale told in two hours," "in two hours be given you here," "these two short hours," in the prologues of *The Doubtful Heir*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *The Unfortunate Lovers*, and *The Alchemist* respectively.

Understatement for the purpose of compliment is apparent in Sir Aston Cokayne's verses on Randolph's *Muses' Looking Glass*:

"And if his eyes and ears are worth thine ore,  
Learn more in two hours than two years before."

Equally clear is the exaggeration in Crosse's *Vertues Commonwealth* (Ed. Grosart, p. 120) for the purpose of satire, where the author speaks of dramas which with "great allacritie" "swiftly runne over in two hours space, the doings of many yeares, galloping from one country to another." Crosse is echoing Sir Philip Sidney's assertion

that romantic plays carry two young princes through two generations of absurdity in "two hours space."<sup>7</sup> And Sidney in turn is improving upon Whetstone's accusation that the English playwright "fyrst groundes his worke on impossibilities; then in three houres ronnes he throwe the worlde, marryes, gets Children, makes Children men," etc.<sup>8</sup>

Surely in all the cases above we are no more justified in thinking that dramatists are speaking with precision than we are in believing that Wright in 1699<sup>9</sup> intended to be accurate when he asserted that in the "good old days" many substantial Englishmen thought dramas "an innocent diversion for an idle hour or two," or that Lamb is scientifically exact when in his essay on artificial comedy he refers to seeing "a stage libertine playing his loose pranks of two hours' duration." In all instances the dramatists could conscientiously use the indefinite "two hours" to refer to a performance that actually endured any time less than the full three hours.

To be taken more seriously, perhaps, is the passage in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* (1607), written for the Children of Paul's: "But, gentlemen, to spread myself open unto you, in cheaper terms I salute you; for ours have but six penny fees all the year long; yet we despatch you in two hours, without demur; your suits hang not long here after candles be lighted." This passage is clear when compared with the frequently quoted "Note to the Master of the Children of Powles" found at the end of William Percy's *Necromantes*:

"Memorandum, that if any of the fine and formost of these Pastoralls and comedyes conteyned in this volume, shall but overeach in length (the children not to begin before foure, after prayers, and the gates of Powles shutting at six) the tyme of supper, that them in tyme and place convenient, you do let passe some of the songs, and make the consort the shorter; for I suppose these plaies be somewhat too long for that place."<sup>10</sup>

There were special reasons, then, why the performances should be shortened at Paul's, but there is no reason for believing that similar conditions obtained at other playing-places. The passages just quoted, indeed, argue that other theatres did not dispatch the audience in two hours. And it should also be noted here that even the

<sup>7</sup> *Defense of Poesie*, Ed. Arber, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *Eliz. Critical Essays*, I, 59.

<sup>9</sup> *Historia Histrionica*, p. 407.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by Lawrence, *Studies*, I, 83.

shortened plays by the Children of Paul's did not do away with the "act time"; the actors merely shortened the inter-act "consort." This is proved by Percy's words above and by Middleton's *Phoenix*. This drama was published in the same year with *Michaelmas Term*, which promises to dispatch the audience in two hours, and it was acted by the Children of Paul's; yet this very production calls for inter-act music.

There are other reasons why the loose references to the "two hours' traffic of the stage" cannot be taken too seriously. The old stereotyped expression was carried over into the Restoration, when painted scenery and inter-act music must surely have necessitated considerably more than two hours for presentation. The expression, for instance, occurs in the prologue to Davenant's *Playhouse to Be Let* and in the post-Restoration prologue to his *Unfortunate Lovers*. Dryden, too, in his *Defense of Dramatic Poesy* has one remark on the absurdity of crowding twenty-four or even five hours into "two hours" on the stage; but, speaking more accurately elsewhere in the same production, he refers to "those three hours, more or less, in the space of which the play is represented." Again, we have several references<sup>11</sup> to three hours as the duration of Elizabethan plays, which, in their printed form at least, are no longer than those claiming to have occupied only two hours of the spectators' time.<sup>12</sup> We also have various general references to three hours as the normal duration of performances. Especially should the statement of Shirley in "To the Reader" prefaced to the Beaumont and Fletcher folio be considered in connection with the references to two hours in the Blackfriars plays cited above.<sup>13</sup> Speaking of the folio volume, he says that it contains "the authentic wit that made Blackfriars an academy, where the three hours' spectacle, while Beaumont and

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Epilogues to *Loyal Subject*, *If It Be Not Good* and *The Guardian* (a court play), and prologue to *The Lover's Progress*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Of course, it might be argued that the "two hours" plays have come down to us in expanded form. If we are to believe the reference to two hours in the prologue to the exceptionally long *Row Alley*, then the acted version of this particular production must have been cut extensively. That some plays were shortened for acting purposes is, of course, quite true. Cf. for example, the statement in the introductory remarks to the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher that the printed plays contain certain passages omitted by the actors "as occasion led them."

<sup>13</sup> *Mayor of Queenborough*, *Two Noble Kinsmen*, *The Doubtful Heir* (also *Globe*), *Love's Pilgrimage*.

Fletcher were present, were usually of more advantage to the hopeful young heir, than a costly, dangerous, foreign travel."<sup>14</sup>

Of more interest is an incident which reveals conditions in the public playing-places. In 1594, Lord Hunsdon, as a special inducement to the authorities of London to allow performances at the Cross Keys, promised that the players would begin "at two and have done between four and five." It is to be noted that even under such circumstances as these, when actors were willing to begin their performances an hour earlier than the usual time, and when they were surely willing also to present their plays more rapidly than under ordinary conditions, their patron was unwilling to restrict them to the "two short hours" of sundry prologues.

But let us admit for the sake of argument that all the references above to two hours as the time occupied by a play are essentially accurate. Even then such references are worthless in determining whether there were or were not act-intermissions. It need only be pointed out that most of these references occur in plays acted at private theatres, where entr'actes as a regular practice can be proved beyond a doubt. And even in plays said to be acted in two hours we have conclusive evidence that these very performances observed the "act time." The plays of Percy and Middleton written for Paul's have already been cited in this connection. The prologues to Shirley's *Brothers* and *The Duke's Mistress* promise to occupy only two hours of the audience's time, still inter-act music was employed in these dramas, as is proved by the words of Luys at the end of the second act of the first play and the situation at the beginning of IV, i, of the second. I have already referred to Restoration allusions to two hours; and act-intermissions were surely a regular practice in the theatres of Dryden's time.

## II. THE HOUR OF PERFORMANCE

Equally erroneous is the idea that the public theatres were dependent upon natural light, and consequently were obliged to finish their performances before the coming of dark. Such an idea has apparently

<sup>14</sup> For other general references to three hours, see *Lady Alimony*, I, 2, Whetstone's preface to *Promos and Cassandra*. Fenton in 1574 wrote that plays lasted two or three hours (Symmes, *Critique Dramatique*, p. 231). Northbrooke in 1577 used a similar expression. Perhaps it is worth while to record that Prynne (p. 306), citing Latin authority, says that "stage-plays" last "some three or four hours at the least." At court and university they sometimes lasted longer than four hours.

influenced some in believing that performances in the open houses, especially in winter, must have begun as early as one o'clock in the afternoon. But apparently there is not a tittle of evidence to indicate that such an early hour was ever customary in the Elizabethan theatres. To be sure, the door was opened early; and we find Davenant in the prologue to his *Unfortunate Lovers* informing the audience that its ancestors

"to th' Theatre would come  
Ere they had din'd, to take up the best room."<sup>16</sup>

On Sunday and holidays this early admission of spectators called forth various objections from the more religiously inclined. On April 13, 1582, to illustrate, the Mayor wrote to the Privy Council: "ffor though they beginne not their playes till after euening prayer, yet all the time of the afternone before they take in hearers and fill the place with such as be therby absent from seruing God at Chirch."<sup>17</sup> It was the early arrival of Society in coaches that the citizens of Blackfriars objected to about 1619<sup>18</sup>: "Theise inconveniences fallinge out almost everie daie in the winter tyme (not forbearinge the time of Lent) from one or twoe of the clock till sixe att night," etc. And it is to this same practice that Davies refers (Epigram 39)—a passage which Malone cited as evidence for plays starting at one o'clock:

"He goes to Gyls, where he doth eate till one,  
Then sees a play til sixe, and sups at seauen."<sup>19</sup>

In short, there is every reason to believe that, as Collier argued, the regular hour for starting plays in both private and public theatres was three o'clock;<sup>20</sup> and it was not a question of dismissing the audi-

<sup>16</sup> From ca. 1660-1669 the doors of the theatres were thrown open at about twelve o'clock (Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, pp. 16-17), but plays did not begin until three or later. This early opening of the doors seems to be the survival of a pre-Restoration custom.

<sup>17</sup> Malone Society, *Collections*, I, i, p. 54. Cf. also I, 2, pp. 171, 177.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, i, p. 92.

<sup>19</sup> For evidence pointing to three o'clock as the regular time of performance, see Collier *Annals*, III, 378. Note, too, that in June, 1579, Burbage "about twoe of the clock" was arrested on his way to a play at the Cross Keys (Wallace, *First London Theatre*, pp. 83, 90). For evidence that plays at the Red Bull and Curtain must have begun later than one o'clock, see *Jack Dowe's Prognostication* (1623), where the author states that if at these theatres "about the hours of four and five it waxe cloudy, and then raine downright, they shall sit drier in the galleries then those who are the understanding men in the yard" (Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines*, 9th Ed., I, 372). It will be remembered that Holinshed in his chronicle, describing the earthquake of April 6, 1580, says that it occurred "about six of the clock" and disturbed considerably the people who were in the playhouses "in the fields."

ence before darkness fell but of letting it out in time to eat supper at a convenient hour.<sup>19</sup>

Of course, certain performances in the regular playhouses began later than three o'clock. Percy's reference to performances beginning at Paul's at four o'clock after prayers speaks for certain plays in private playing-places. About 1594 the players of Lord Hunsdon were beginning<sup>20</sup> their performances "towards fower a clock." Sometimes dramas that ordinarily began at three were delayed, as is brought out in I, ii and iv of *Lady Alimony*. The Blackfriars performance referred to in *The Parson's Wedding* (IV, i) must have begun late or else been an especially long one; since Jolly, who has been sent for the musicians, enters after the parson has gone to bed and gives as an excuse for his lateness: "Yes, I have got the Blackfriars music. I was fain to stay till the last act."

Now when we consider in connection with what precedes the fact that night performances were sometimes given in the London theatres<sup>21</sup>—public as well as private—we see the frailty of an argument which holds that players were wont to rush through a performance and to omit inter-act attractions because they were dependent upon the uncertain daylight of London. To be sure, they began certain performances before three o'clock; we have seen that Lord Hunsdon as a special inducement to the city offered to have his players begin at two, but this has nothing to do with lighting facilities in the public theatres and just as little to do with the hour of performance at those playhouses which were situated outside the jurisdiction of the mayor and his brethren.

### III. INTER-ACT ATTRACTIONS

*The "Act Time."* Another argument advanced by exponents of continuous performances is that stage directions indicative of inter-act pauses are infrequent. It is quite true that such directions are comparatively infrequent; they are just the sort of directions that would naturally be omitted in the normally printed Elizabethan play.

<sup>19</sup> In the latter half of the 16th century the nobility, gentry and students were accustomed to eat supper between five and six; the London merchants ate at six; the husbandmen at seven or eight (*Antiquarian Repertory*, III, 186). A few passages which indicate that the audience went directly to supper from the theatre are Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable* (Ed. Pearson, II, 191), Fitegeoffrey's *Notes from Blackfriars*, Field's *Amends for Ladies* (III, iv), *The Parson's Wedding* (III, i).

<sup>20</sup> *Englische Studien*, 47, pp. 66-67.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* See also Lawrence in *Eng. Stud.*, 48, 213-30. In a reply to Mr. Lawrence, which I hope to publish soon, I shall discuss at considerable length the matter of night performances in the Elizabethan period.

It may be noted in this connection that specific directions for the use of a stage curtain are also comparatively rare in similar texts; yet the alternationists who argue for continuous performances are not averse to drawing a curtain constantly without the printed instructions of the Elizabethans.

Let us prove that stage directions indicating act-intermissions were frequently omitted in printed plays. There is no direction for music at the end of the second act of *Gammer Gurton*, yet Diccon's "felowes, pipe upp" proves inter-act music; in Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One* there is no direction for music at the end of the second act, but the words of Truth—"Delight your eares with pleasing harmonie"—settles the matter; there is no direction for music at the beginning of the second act of Shirley's *Politician*, yet the situation at the beginning of that act proves that music was employed; there is no direction for music at the end of the second act of Shirley's *Brothers*, still as Luys leaves the stage he remarks, "Now, fiddles, do your worst." Similar instances may be cited. The absence, then, of specific stage directions calling for inter-act music is no valid argument against what was, as will be shown later, an extremely common practice in both private and public Elizabethan theatres.

Now for the evidence, which is by no means so scanty as Professor Brandl would believe, for the regular observance of the "act time" in the playhouses of Shakspere's time. In the first place, let us cite evidence which indicates act-intermission without specifying how the "act time" was utilized by the performers. Here fall Jonson's reference to "gossips that tattle between the acts" (Preface to *Staple of News*), his protest against the unappreciative who "rose between the acts in oblique lines" (Preface to *New Inn*), and his frequently quoted lines in *The Devil Is an Ass* (I, iii):

"To-day I go to the Blackfriars play-house,  
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,  
Rise up between the acts."

These are all references to the private houses. But why restrict to private theatres the words in III, i, of the last mentioned play, where a character is requested to remain at the playhouse at least one act, instead of leaving during the action "to vex the players and to punish their poet"? Such behavior would have been as vexing to players on the public stage as to those in the private houses. Nor is there

any especial reason to think that Cowley had in mind only the private theatre when he wrote in *Love's Riddle* (III, i):

"Twould doe you much more credit at the Theatre,  
To rise betwixt the Acts, and looke about  
The boxes, and then cry, God save you Madame."

Again, Lawrence<sup>22</sup> has given much reason for thinking that the gatherers were accustomed to collect money from the galleries during the act-intermissions. And he also cites a Restoration practice which seems to be a survival of a pre-Restoration habit on the part of some to enter the theatres free of charge during the intermission following the third or fourth act. So common was this practice during the Restoration that in 1663 a royal warrant forbade such behavior "notwithstanding theire pretended priviledge by custom of forcing theire entrance at the fourth or fifth acts without payment"; and in 1670 a more severe proclamation prohibited any such action "by any pretended usage of an entrance at the fifth act."<sup>23</sup>

Pre-Restoration instances of this "pretended usage" are extant. Brathwaite, in describing a ruffian,<sup>24</sup> writes: "To a play they wil hazard to go, though with never a rag of money: where after the second act, when the doore is weakly guarded, they will make forcible entrie; a knock with a cudgell as the worst; whereat though they grumble, they rest pacified upon their admittance. Forthwith, by violent assault and assent, they aspire to the two-pennie roome; where being furnished with tinder, match, and a portion of decayed Barmoodas, they smoake it most terribly, applaud a prophanie jeast", etc.<sup>25</sup> Apparently the following from Cowley's *The Guardian* (III, i) is a reference to the "privilege of the fifth act": "Be abandon'd by all men above a Tapster; and not dare to looke a Gentleman i' the face; unless perhaps you sneake into a Play-house, at the fifth act." More interesting is a passage from Davenant's *Long Vacation in London*:

"Then forth he steales; to Globe does run;  
And smiles, and vowed Four Acts are done:  
*Finis* to bring he does protest,  
Tells ev'ry Play'r, his part is best."

<sup>22</sup> *Eliz. Playhouse and Other Studies*, II, 95 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Eliz. Playhouse and Other Studies*, II, pp. 102-104.

<sup>24</sup> *Whimsies*, Ed. Halliwell, p. 84.

<sup>25</sup> Lowe (*Thomas Betterton*, p. 24) says that forced entrance to theatres is a sort of swindling peculiar to the Restoration. He is clearly mistaken, as Brathwaite's words show. For cases of a similar thing in Norwich, in 1583, see Murray, *Eng. Dramatic Companies*, I, 8-9. For the frequency of the practice at an early date in Spain, see Rennert's *The Spanish Stage*, pp. 125 ff.

The passages above, of course, do not necessarily refer to act-intermissions, but they imply them; and they at least argue strongly that the acts were clearly marked off at the Globe and elsewhere. This, as we shall see later, is of significance in refuting another argument that has been put forth by exponents of continuous performances. Other rather indefinite indications of act-intervals are such directions as that found before the end of the second act of *The Maid in the Mill* (printed 1623, as acted at the Globe): "Six chaires placed at the arras." Surely this points to the arrangement of properties during the entr'acte which follows. A similar direction occurs at the beginning of the fifth act of *The Cruel Brother*.

Finally, a word may be said about Prölss' "Law of Re-entry" as it bears upon the matter of act-intermissions. Briefly the law<sup>26</sup> is this: Characters leaving the stage at the end of a scene to reappear at another locality are, to avoid confusion, not permitted to re-enter immediately; hence, thinks Prölss, small transition scenes were frequently inserted between the exit and re-enter of such characters. At least it should be noted in this connection that numerous cases can be cited<sup>27</sup> where characters leave the stage at the *end of an act* and re-enter at an entirely different locality at the very beginning of the next act. Surely, if there is anything in the contention of Prölss, such a practice would have been confusing to the audience, unless we assume in such cases at least a brief "act time," undenoted though it be by stage directions.

Now let us consider evidence which designates just how the act-interval was utilized by the actors. We shall confine ourselves in the discussion largely to the public theatres, since entr'actes in the private theatres are generally admitted.

*Inter-act "Shows."* Dumb shows and the chorus were means of filling in the "act time" in public theatres; and Hamlet's objection (III, 2) that the groundlings were incapable, for the most part, of anything but "inexplicable dumb shows and noise" attests the

<sup>26</sup> Prölss, *Altesten Drucken, etc.*, pp. 107 ff., Neuendorff, p. 192.

<sup>27</sup> It is needless to pile up examples. Frequent cases, for example, occur in the dramas of Shirley, Beaumont and Fletcher.

popularity and frequency of the former device.<sup>28</sup> The inter-act performance of characters who figure in the induction may also be mentioned as a means of occupying intermissions.<sup>29</sup> "Shows" other than dumb shows were apparently sometimes thrust into the entr'actes. At least Taylor in his *Revenge*<sup>30</sup> states that, when in October, 1614, Fennor did not keep his engagement for a wit contest at the Hope, the former entertained the audience before the performance of the actors and also, apparently, between acts. Taylor's words may mean that he performed before and after the play; yet, when they are considered in connection with the words of Fennor's reply (p. 152) the first interpretation seems preferable. And at a time when extemporal clownage was so very common, it is certainly probable that such persons as Tarleton and Kempe, instead of being confined to the "jig" after the play, were allowed to entertain the audience during the "act time," just as on the early German stage Pickle-herring was accustomed to make his appearance between the acts.<sup>31</sup>

Whether the regular "jig" was ever given between acts on the Elizabethan stage I do not know. Inter-act "jigs" were fairly common in Germany, some of the plays containing "zwischenspielen" being presented by English comedians. This certainly implies their existence in England. Malone, indeed,<sup>32</sup> speaks of the "jigs" in England used "between the acts and after the play," and he thinks that such entertainments originated in the "satirical enterludes" of Greece and the "atellans and mimes of the Roman stage." But the only evidence for inter-act jigs cited by him, a passage from the prologue to Davenant's *Wits*, is by no means conclusive:

"So country jigs and farces, mixt among  
Heroic scenes, make plays continue long."

<sup>28</sup> On dumb shows see Foster, "Dumb Shows in Elizabethan Drama before 1620" in *Eng. Studien*, 44, 8-17. Perhaps it should be mentioned that the Elizabethans could cite good classic precedent for such extraneous features. Puttenham (Smith, *Eliz. Critical Essays*, II, 28), for instance, speaks of the "Pantomimi" between acts of the ancient drama; and Prynne (p. 408) has the following marginal comment on "a swimming whore": "It seems by this that the Graccian Actors, did now and then to refresh and exhilarate their lascivious Spectators, bring a kinde of Cisterne upon the Stage, wherein naked Whores did swim, and bathe themselves between their Acts and Scenes."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for example, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Taming of a Shrew*, *Old Wives Tale* (?). For private theatres see *Knight of Burining Pestle* and several of Jonson's plays.

<sup>30</sup> Spenser Society, p. 145.

<sup>31</sup> Mauermann, *Die Bühnenanweisungen im deutschen Drama bis 1700*, p. 109. Miss Sheavyn (*Literary Profession in Eliz. Age*, p. 204) refers to inter-act clownage, citing a passage from one of Hall's satires. The passage, however, is not conclusive evidence.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. of Shakspeare (1790), Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 116-117. Miss Sheavyn (p. 204) speaks of inter-act jigs without citing evidence.

There is a passage in Shirley's *The Changes* (IV, 2) that is at least of interest in this connection:

"Oh, sir, what plays are taking now with these  
Pretty devices? Many gentlemen  
Are not, as in the days of understanding,  
Now satisfied without a jig, which since  
They cannot, with their honour, call for after  
The play, they look to be serv'd up in the middle:  
Your dance is the best language of some comedies,  
And footing runs away with all."

Shirley and Davenant may have had in mind inter-act jigs, but it is more probable that they were referring solely to jigs incorporated in the play proper. In spite of this fact, however, it is reasonable to believe that, after the order of the General Session of the Peace at Westminster in 1612, forbidding "Jigges, Rymes and Daunces" at the end of plays,<sup>33</sup> the actors would be inclined to insert such features between acts as well as to incorporate them in the drama.

*Inter-act Dancing.* With the exception of the evidence in *James IV*, printed in 1598 as "sundrie times publikely plaide," there is little to indicate that dancing of a more refined nature was ever introduced between the acts in the public theatres.<sup>34</sup> Such dancing, however, was extremely common in private playhouses,<sup>35</sup> and in view of the fact that actors in the open theatres were, as we have seen, under no obligation to conclude their performances sooner than those in the roofed houses, it is almost inconceivable that, at a time of such rivalry between the various companies, the inter-act dance of the private theatre would not have been introduced into the public playhouses. It should at least be noted that more than one dramatist protested against the popular insistence on dances and such-like "trumpery" in drama,<sup>36</sup> and that Prynne is very positive, if also very indefinite, regarding the prevalence of dancing in plays. "Stage-playes are," he exclaims, "commonly attended with mixt effeminate amorous dancing; it is most apparent; not only by our owne moderne experience," but also by classic authority.<sup>37</sup> And he concludes his section by affirming "that dancing was alwayes heretofore, and yet continues

<sup>33</sup> Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 210. Cf. also, in connection with this order and the words of Shirley above, *The Lady Mother*, II, i.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *Two Italian Gentlemen*, which has inter-act dances, was presented in a public theatre. At the end of III of Shirley's *St. Patrick for Ireland*, acted in the Dublin theatre, we have: "Bears her in, while Spirits are seen rejoicing in a dance." Was the Dublin theatre of the private sort?

<sup>35</sup> Lawrence, *Studies*, I, 82-83; Wallace, *Children of Blackfriars*, *passim*.

<sup>36</sup> See, e. g., "To the Reader" prefaced to *Alchemist*; Heywood's *Love's Mistress*; W. B.'s. verses on *The Bondman*, prologue (for Globe) to *The Doubtful Heir*, *The Changes*, IV, 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Histrionistic*, p. 259.

an unseparable concomitant, if not a necessary part of Stage-playes." If dances were such a popular feature among the groundlings, it is surely probable that they sometimes occupied the "act time" of the public theatres.

*Inter-act Songs.* The matter of inter-act songs is closely related to that of inter-act dancing; and, as was true in the case of dancing, there is little extant evidence which indicates inter-act songs on the public stages, popular as they were in the private theatres. One interesting indication of songs between acts in the open playhouses may be mentioned. At about line 620 of Peele's *Old Wives Tale*, which is thought to have been acted at a public theatre, we have a song by the harvesters. This particular play is not divided into acts, but in view of the general practice of having the characters of the induction perform at the end of acts in dramas employing the device of the induction, we may reasonably infer that the words of Frolic and Madge immediately preceding the song of the harvesters indicate an act division and that the song, which has little or nothing to do with the play itself, is an inter-act intrusion. In connection with this indication of inter-act song, uncertain as it is, should be considered the words of Prynne (p. 262). Arguing that "stage plays are usually accompanied with such Pastorals, Songs, and Ditties," he writes:

"First, by our owne moderne experience, there being nothing more frequent, in all our Stage-playes (as all our Play-haunters can abundantly testifie;) then amorous Pastorals, or obscene lascivious Love-songs, most melodiously chanted out upon the Stage betweene each several action; both to supply that Chasme or vacant Interim which the Tyring-house takes up, in changing the Actors robes, to fit them for some other part in the ensuing Scene: (a thing in use in Ancient times, as Horace, Livy, and sundry others have recorded;) as likewise to please the itching eares, if not to inflame the outragious lusts of lewde spectators."

This is definite, clear-cut, spoken with assurance; and under the circumstances one is justified in accepting Prynne's "nothing more frequent, in all our Stage-Playes" as evidence for the public as well as private theatres.

Before passing from the topic of inter-act song, it is well to discuss Busino's statement in the winter of 1617 that he was conducted by members of the Venetian Embassy "to one of the many theatres where plays are performed," and that here he saw a "tragedy" which did not please him greatly, "though some little amusement," he continues, "may be derived from gazing at the very costly dresses

of the actors, and from the various interludes of instrumental music and dancing and singing; but the best treat was to see such a crowd of nobility so well arrayed that they looked like so many princes."<sup>38</sup> It was formerly said that the performance witnessed by Busino took place at the Fortune; and recently we have Cowling preserving this statement.<sup>39</sup> Lawrence, too, was, as he puts it,<sup>40</sup> seriously led astray by the statements of others; and on learning that there is no evidence for assigning definitely Busino's experience to the Fortune, concludes, "from the quality of the audience," that the play "probably took place at a private theatre." It seems to me, however, that neither what Busino says of the audience nor the season in which his experience took place necessarily points to a private theatre. The Venetian ambassador in the very season of Busino's visit to the theatre wrote regarding English playhouses and audiences in general: "Hence in London, as the capital of a most flourishing kingdom, theatrical representations without end prevail throughout the year in various parts of the city, and are invariably frequented by crowds of persons devoted to pleasure who, for the most part dress grandly and in colours, so that they seem, were it possible, more than princes, or rather comedians."<sup>41</sup> It must be kept in mind, too, in connection with Busino's account, that foreign ambassadors and their trains frequently attended the London public theatres,<sup>42</sup> that such events were considered above the ordinary,<sup>43</sup> and that consequently on such occasions the quality and costume of the audience would tend to be considerably superior to those of ordinary days. The experience of Busino, then, may have occurred in a public theatre.

*Inter-act Music.* Fortunately large and conclusive evidence is at hand to prove the frequency of inter-act music, which may or may not

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Furnivall's Ed. of Harrison's *Desc. of England*, I, pp. 55\*-56\*, *Quarterly Review*, vol. 102, p. 416.

<sup>39</sup> *Music on Shakespearian Stage*, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> *Studies*, I, p. 81 note.

<sup>41</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1617-19, p. 110.

<sup>42</sup> In July 1621, to illustrate, the Spanish ambassador "with his whole traine" went to "a common play at the Fortune" (Murray, *Eng. Dram. Cos.*, I, 213); Gustinian, the Venetian ambassador, paid more than twenty crowns for a special performance of "Pericles," probably at the Globe (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian* 1615-17, p. 600); in 1617 an Italian testified that "all the ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less" (*ibid.*).

<sup>43</sup> Dekker (*Seven Deadly Sins of London*, Ed. Arber, pp. 32-33) refers to the gain to the actors occasioned by visits of the ambassadors. Sloth's repartee to the theatres, he says, would so enlarge the audience that "the comming of tenne Embassadors was never so sweete to them" [players].

have accompanied songs and dances. Indications of music during the "act time" are fairly frequent for all the private houses with the exception of the Whitefriars.<sup>44</sup> The idea that inter-act music was not common at the public playhouses is due to an underestimate of the emphasis placed upon music by the early adult companies and a misunderstanding of a passage in Webster's induction to Marston's *Malcontent*. Professor C. W. Wallace, who was engaged in showing the tremendous influence exerted upon drama by the Chapel Children at the Blackfriars,<sup>45</sup> wrote as follows: "The latter [public theatres] had at the close of Elizabeth and beginning of James almost no music. In the plays of the children-companies music is a prominent part of the performance,—more at Blackfriars and Paul's under Elizabeth, as noted before, than at the same or other theatres under James."<sup>46</sup> And again (p. 10): "The public theatres had not yet in 1604 adopted the music introductions and interspersions of the private house." Professor Wallace's manipulation of evidence has apparently misled so sane a scholar as W. J. Lawrence, who seems inclined to underestimate the frequency and importance of music in the public theatres.<sup>47</sup>

As a matter of fact music was an important asset of the adult companies during Elizabeth's reign. This is merely one of the various ways in which court practice influenced the public theatres at an early date. Cowling has pointed out<sup>48</sup> that Henslowe's company at the Rose was well provided with musicians and musical instruments. The companies that toured the provinces were provided with musicians; and the records as collected by Murray<sup>49</sup> certainly indicate that these musicians did more than merely advertise the plays by means of

<sup>44</sup> *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is usually cited to prove inter-act music at the Whitefriars, but it was probably acted at the Blackfriars (cf. E. K. Chambers in *Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, 160-61).

For inter-act music at the Blackfriars, see *Sophonisba*, *Fawn*, *The Brothers*, *The City Madam*, *The Fatal Dowry*. For Salisbury Court see *The Changeling* and Shirley's *Politician* (II, i). For Paul's see Percy plays and *Phoenix*; for Phoenix see *The Witty Fair One* and *The Changeling*; for Cockpit see Nabbe's *Hannibal and Scipio*. For late court plays see end of act 2 of Cartwright's *The Seide*.

<sup>45</sup> He says (*Children of Chapel at Blackfriars*, p. 9) that "our present orchestral *interludes* between acts" can be traced directly to the chapel boys at the (second) Blackfriars. Inter-act music, however, is earlier than the second Blackfriars, as shown by *Gammer Gurton*, perhaps by Yarrington's *Two Plays in One*, and by *Wars of Cyrus* (printed 1594 as played by Children of Her Majesty's Chapel), where at line 367 occurs the direction, "Musicke. Finis Actus primi." I should say that it would be more reasonable to trace inter-act music directly to the music accompanying the dumb shows in early court plays, as for example, *Corboduc*, *Jocasta*, *Tancred and Gismonda*.

<sup>46</sup> *Children of Chapel*, p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Studies*, I, 75-84.

<sup>48</sup> *Music on Sh. Stage*, pp. 3-4, 82.

<sup>49</sup> *Eng. Dramatic Companies*, II, pp. 121, 198, 229, 234, 238, 265, 375.

drum and trumpet. In Ratsey's "pretty prancke" (S. R., 1605) played upon traveling actors, the hero says to the comedians: "I . . . . pray you . . . . let me heare your musicke, for I have often gone to plaies more for musicke sake then for action."<sup>50</sup> Surely Gosson in his *School of Abuse*<sup>51</sup> (1579) is not referring to the early Blackfriars when he objects to the "strange consortes of melody" introduced into the theatre "to tickle the eare"; and he is more specific in his *Apologie*, when he says that he is not objecting to music in itself but to bringing the "cunning" of musicians into theatres: "Yet do I not forbiddre our new founde instruments, so that we handle them as David did, to prayse God; nor bring them any more into publique Theatres, to please wantons." Again, in his *Plays Confuted*<sup>52</sup> he continues to object to music in theatres: "As the Divell hath brought in all that Poetrie can sing so hath hee sought out every streine that musicke is able to pipe, and drawe all kind of instruments into that compasse, simple and mixte." These are surely no references to drum and tabor. And that he was not speaking of music in connection with jigs at the end of plays but to interspersed music—"consort" melody "before the entrance," etc.—is revealed by Lodge's reply to the Puritan. "Those instrumentes," writes Lodge,<sup>53</sup> "which you mislike in playes grow of auncient custome, for, when Roscius was an Actor, be sure that as with his tears he moued affections, so the Musitian in the Theater before the entrance did mornefully record it in melody (as Seruius reporteth)." Stubbes in his *Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) implies that music was being used in the London theatres to the detriment of the citizens (Ed. Furnivall, p. 143). And finally may be cited the situation in the induction to Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (Blackfriars, 1600), where the critical gallant, opposed to the "rascally tits," objects among other things that "their music is abominable—able to stretch a man's ears worse than ten—pillories, and their ditties—most lamentable things." Does this not imply that the gallant preferred a different type of music and song as furnished by those actors who were not "tit"? And is the evi-

<sup>50</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, 9 Ed., I, 325.

<sup>51</sup> Ed. Arber, pp. 31-32.

<sup>52</sup> Hazlitt, *Drama and Stage*, p. 192.

<sup>53</sup> Smith, *Eliz. Critical Essays*, I, 83.

dence above not sufficient to invalidate the statement that the public theatres "had at the close of Elizabeth and beginning of James almost no music?"

Now let us consider the evidence for inter-act music in the public theatres prior to 1604. The words of Truth, cited above, at the end of the third act of Yarrington's *Two Plays in One*, printed in 1601 but probably acted earlier at the Fortune,<sup>64</sup> calls for inter-act music. The "platt" of *The Dead Man's Fortune*, prepared for the Rose, undoubtedly calls for inter-act music. In the *Blind Beggar of Bednal Green*, presented as early as ca. 1600<sup>65</sup> and printed in 1659 "as it was divers times publickly acted by the Princes Servants," we find the direction "Musick" at the end of the second, third, and fourth acts. Jonson's *Sejanus*, generally supposed<sup>66</sup> to have been acted at the Globe in 1603, employs a "chorus—of Musicians" at the end of each act—a device which Jonson regrets is not "a proper chorus" and which certainly implies inter-act music. As early as 1790 Malone<sup>67</sup> wrote: "In a copy of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599, now before me, which certainly belonged to the play-house, the endings of the acts are marked in the margin; and directions are given for musick to be played between each act. The marginal directions in this copy appear to be of a very old date, one of them being in the ancient style and hand—'Play Musicke.'" Professor Wallace dismisses this evidence of Malone as an uncertain and isolated case of inter-act music. It is not isolated, as we have seen; it merely refuses to fit Professor Wallace's theory.

Now for the passage in the induction to *The Malcontent*, the passage that has frequently been employed as the chief evidence against the early use of inter-act music in the public theatres. The passage follows:

"Sly. I wonder you would play it [i. e., *Malcontent*], another company having interest in it."

Condell. Why not Malevole in folio with us, as Jeronimo in decimo-sesto with them? They taught us a name for our play; we call it *One For Another*.

Sly. What are your additions?

Burbage. Sooth, not greatly needful; only as your salad to your great feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge the not-received custom of music in our theatre [i. e., the Globe]."

<sup>64</sup> Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, II, 285. Law (*Mod. Lang. Review*, V, 167-97) argues that the production was composed as early as ca. 1594.

<sup>65</sup> Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, I, 107; Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, II, 599.

<sup>66</sup> Murray (*Eng. Dram. Cos.*, I, 148 n.) unconvincingly states that the play was "probably" presented at one of the 1603 performances before the king; hence not at the Globe.

<sup>67</sup> Ed. of Shakspere, I, pt. 2, p. 93 note.

The "not-received custom of music," believe Wallace, Lawrence, Brandl, and others, refers to inter-act music as well as to other sorts. But the passage above is a clear and unmistakable reference to the fact that the induction had been written to take the place at the *Globe* of the musical prelude which, according to Phillip Julius von Stettin,<sup>58</sup> occupied, in 1602, "a whole hour before the beginning of the play" at the Blackfriars. It has nothing to do with inter-act music.

Since the matter is of importance in connection with Webster's share in the play as well as with the question of inter-act music, a fuller discussion is in order. Stoll<sup>59</sup>, without using Burbage's evidence above, has already shown beyond all reasonable doubt that Webster's "additions," which were composed for the King's Servants, are confined to the induction. This is exactly what Burbage himself tells us: Somebody (i. e., Webster) wrote additions (the induction) for the *Globe* version of the play stolen in retaliation from the Blackfriars company, additions which were to occupy part, but not all ("abridge"), of the hour formerly devoted to the musical prelude. That Burbage is thinking only of the induction as a substitute for the preliminary music, and not of musical interspersions or additions to the play proper, is clear when we understand the significance of his expression "only as your salad to your great feast." This is his way of saying that the "additions" preceded the play proper; for in his time the French custom, as distinguished from the Spanish,<sup>60</sup> of eating "sallets" before the more substantial part of "a great feast" predominated in England.<sup>61</sup> The passage, then, in the induction to *The Malcontent* has nothing to do with inter-act music at the *Globe* or elsewhere.

<sup>58</sup> Stettin's account is quoted by Wallace (*Children of Chapel*, p. 107) and by E. S. Bates in *Nineteenth Century*, vol. 72, p. 115. The original is printed in *Transactions Royal Historical Society*, New Series, VI, 28-29.

<sup>59</sup> John Webster, pp. 55-57.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Jas. Howell's *Instructions for Forraine Travell*, Ed. Arber, p. 32, and John Evelyn's *Acetaria (Miscellaneous Works*, Ed. Upcott, p. 773).

<sup>61</sup> Note, for example, the following from Jonson's *Inviting a Friend to Supper*:

"Yet shall you have, to rectify your palate,  
An olive, capers, or some better sallet  
Ushering the mutton."  
To sharpen appetite."

After Domitia has induced Paris to kiss her (*Roman Actor*, IV, 2), she remarks:

"These are but salads

Evelyn in his *Acetaria; A Discourse of Sallets* (1699) writes at painful length on his subject. He goes deeply into the history of eating salads, gives the time for eating as practiced by various nations, and recommends the Roman and French custom of eating them at the beginning of the meal (*Miscellaneous Works*, Ed. Upcott, pp. 772-75).

Let us next consider evidence for inter-act music in the public theatres after 1604. In the MS of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, acted by the King's Company, the act-divisions are denoted and the word "Flourish" is written in the margin before acts two and three.<sup>63</sup> At the end of the second act of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* the music plays, and the citizen calls for "Baloo" while his wife calls for "Lachrymae." This incident is usually cited as evidence that the audiences were accustomed to call for special tunes between the acts at the Whitefriars. But it seems to me more likely that here the dramatist is burlesquing the behavior of citizens at their regular haunts; and citizens such as are represented in this drama were accustomed to attend the public rather than the private houses. *The Actors Remonstrance* of 1643, purporting to come from the actors "belonging to the famous private and public houses within the city of London and the suburbs thereof," is surely not speaking of private theatres alone, when it objects that puppet-plays, "which are not so much valuable as the very music between each act at ours, are still up with uncontrolled allowance."

Various references to inter-act music as a general custom—references which, in view of what precedes, cannot be restricted to private theatres—may be cited. In 1608 Dekker wrote:<sup>64</sup> "These were appointed to be my Actes, in this goodly theater, the Musicke betweene, were the Singers of the Wood." Vennor, in 1614, speaking of his unfortunate "England's Joy," promised:<sup>65</sup> "I heere promise the next tearme, with the true history of my life, to bee *publicquely* [italics mine] presented, to insert, in place of musicke for the actes, all those intendments prepared for that daies entertainment." Sir Walter Raleigh had written:<sup>66</sup>

"What is our life? The play of passion.  
Our mirth? The music of division."

<sup>63</sup> It is probable that the entr'acte was frequently very brief, and that the inter-act "music" was merely a "flourish." The "soundings" before a play are sometimes referred to as "music"; and in IV: 3 of Shirley's *The Constant Maid* the word *music* is used in referring to a "flourish" announcing the approach of certain characters disguised as the king and his lords. Similar uses of the word *music* are extant.

<sup>64</sup> Works, Ed. Grosart, III, 76-77.

<sup>65</sup> Collier, *Illustrations of O. E. Lit.*, III, 10.

<sup>66</sup> Works, Ed. Hannah, p. 29.

Quarles in his *Divine Fancies*<sup>68</sup> (1632) imitates Raleigh:

"The World's a Theater: The Earth, a Stage  
 Plac'd in the midst; wheron both Prince and Page,  
 Both rich and poore; foole, wiseman, base, and high;  
 All act their Parts in Life's short Tragedy:  
 Our Life's a Tragedy; Those secret Roomes  
 Wherein we tyre us, are our Mothers' Wombes;  
 The musicke ush'ring in the Play, is Mirth"  
 To see a Manchild brought upon the Earth:  
 That fainting gaspe of Breath which first we vent  
 Is a Dumb-Shew, presents the Argument:  
 Our new-born Cries that new-born Griefes betray,  
 Is the sad Prologue to th' ensuing Play:  
 False hopes, true feares, vaine joyes, and fierce distracts,  
 Are like the musicke that divides the Acts:  
 Time holds the Glasse, and when the Hour's out-run,  
 Death strikes the Epilogue; and the Play is done."

Anthony Weldon in his *Court of James I*,<sup>69</sup> speaking of certain churchmen who blow their own trumpets, remarks that "these were but as musick before every sceane." R. Brathwaite in his *Whim-sies*<sup>70</sup> (1631) probably, but not necessarily, had the private theatres in mind when he said of the gallant: "Hee seldom ha's time to take ayre, unlesse it be to a play; where if his pockets will give leave, you shall seem aspire to a box: or like the *Silent Woman*, sit demurely upon the stage. Where, at the end of every act, while the encourtain'd musique sounds,<sup>71</sup> to give enter-breath to the actors, and more grace to their action, casting his cloake carelesly on his left shoulder, hee enters into some complementall discourse with one of his ordinarie gallants."

*Certaine Propositions*<sup>72</sup> (1642), offered to the House of Parliament, ironically suggested that all plays be based on Scripture; and, adds the tract: "It would not be amisse, too, if instead of the Musicke that playes betweene Acts, there were onely a Psalme sung for distinction sake."

When we remember, in connection with what precedes, that English comedians acting at Frankfurt in Germany employed inter-

<sup>68</sup> Works, Ed. Grosart, II, 202.

<sup>69</sup> This may be a reference to the late survival of the musical prelude described by von Stettin in 1602. More probably it is a reference to the three "soundings" before the play began.

<sup>70</sup> *Secret History of Court of James I*, Vol. I, p. 438.

<sup>71</sup> Ed. Halliwell, p. 40.

<sup>72</sup> With the expression "encurtain'd music" should be compared the description of Davenant's opera of 1656: "The Musick was above in a loouer hole railed about and covered with sarcenetts to conceale them, before each speech was consort music" (Keyher, *Les Masques Anglois*, p. 515).

<sup>73</sup> Hazlitt, *Drama and Stage*, p. xi.

act music,<sup>72</sup> that early seventeenth century German plays showing directly the influence of the English resorted to inter-act music,<sup>73</sup> and that inter-act music was carried over as a regular practice in the Restoration theatres, surely we are not justified in affirming that such a feature was uncommon in pre-Restoration times or that it was confined to private theatres. To be sure, as Professor Brandl remarks, actual stage directions for inter-act music are comparatively rare; yet, as said above, it is entirely natural that they should be so. In spite of this rarity, however, we have for hardly any general custom of Elizabethan theatres such satisfactory evidence as for that of inter-act music.

#### IV. THE FIVE-ACT FORM

Another argument of the exponents of continuous performances is the fact that the majority of Elizabethan quartos are undivided into acts. Such productions, they would have us believe, are survivals in some way or another of continuous presentation. Such an argument deserves little consideration; for Elizabethan quartos in which the acts are undenoted are worthless as evidence in determining whether dramatists divided their plays into five or a dozen acts. Leaving out of consideration the facts that dramatists had nothing to do with the vast majority of these quartos and that some of them at least were miserably printed—as brought out in the complaints of Heywood and the folio editors—and believing with Pollard that the majority of the early quartos were rather carefully printed, what reason is there for this frequent failure to denote act-divisions? Just this: Such productions were printed to be read, not acted, and to be read somewhat as the short-story is read today; that is, as a continuous story. For this reason the printers felt no more obliged to retain the original act-divisions than we do to split a story into five sections. There was a vast difference between a quarto and the playhouse version of a drama. Is not the absurdity of using a printed quarto for actual theatrical purposes referred to in the scene in Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough* (V, i), where certain strolling players

<sup>72</sup> Neuendorff, p. 179.

<sup>73</sup> Mauermann, p. 109.

are characterized as mere imposters who "only take the name of country comedians to abuse simple people with a printed play or two, which they bought at Canterbury for six pence?"

Now let us give evidence to prove that many quartos intentionally failed to mark off the acts. Of the Shakspere quartos printed before 1623, there is, with the exception of the 1597 *Romeo and Juliet*, the 1609 *Pericles*, and the 1622 *Othello*, no attempt to mark any of the acts; yet some of these must surely have been based ultimately on Blackfriars performances. And at this theatre, at least, act-division was imperative in consequence of the regular act-intermission, a feature of this particular playhouse which no one denies. Furthermore, the quarto of *Pericles* does not denote the various acts, but the chorus shows that the play was regularly divided into five acts. The 1607 quarto of Middleton's *Phoenix*, acted at a private theatre, is not divided into acts, still, as Lawrence points out, "the breaks are indicated in the text and shown to have been signified by the playing of music." *Soliman and Perseda* is not divided into acts in the quarto, but the appearance of characters of the induction at regular intervals in the body of the play proves that this production was originally divided. *Old Wives Tale* is probably a similar case. The *Warning for Fair Women* is undivided after the first act in the original version, yet the various dumb shows and the speeches of Tragedy indicate the regular five-act scheme. It is needless to give other instances of this sort of thing.

Also of interest in this connection is another phenomenon. The 1597 quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* has no act or scene division until the end of III: iv, when "each new scene is marked off by a printer's ornament."<sup>74</sup> Again, the printer of the 1608 *King Lear*, says Pollard,<sup>75</sup> "frequently leaves a space before a new entrance, and many of these spaces occur where a new scene begins, but there are others where there is no change." Does this not indicate that printers were intentionally avoiding the old playhouse division and theatrical terminology?

Frequently the quartos contain at the beginning of the play only the words "Actus primus. Scaena prima" and give no further indi-

<sup>74</sup> Pollard, *Sh. Folios and Quartos*, p. 24.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

cations of act and scene divisions. Why should printers frequently have retained this one indication of act-division? In view of what has preceded, is it not reasonable to suppose that they, preparing dramas to be read as stories, were not interested in denoting the act-divisions but were concerned with letting their readers know that nothing had been omitted at the beginning of the play? And would not the retention of the old "Actus primus. Scaena prima" accomplish this purpose, just as "finis" would indicate that nothing had been left off at the end of a printed production? In other words, the interior act-divisions were of no value to the *reader*; the "Actus primus" was.

From the printed quartos let us turn to productions that have come down to us in MS or in true playhouse form. If the exponents of continuous performances could prove a large number of such compositions to be undivided into acts, then they would have something that approaches an argument. But they cannot prove this. Of a considerable number of MS plays<sup>76</sup> later than the first permanent theatres in London (1576) only one, it seems, is undivided into acts—*Sir Thomas More*; and the manuscript of this particular production is so abnormal<sup>77</sup> in various respects as to make it practically valueless in our discussion.

Again, as evidence of how the Elizabethans wrote their plays and how the publishers sometimes ignored the act-divisions of the original, let us take two representatives of the "romantic" writers for the public stage. Daborne's *Christian Turned Turk* was published in 1612 with little or no attempt to divide it into acts; yet the marking off of the first act and the appearance of the chorus in at least two places imply that the acts were denoted in the original MS. And this inference is made practically a certainty when we consider that the MS copy of Daborne's *Poor Man's Comfort* is

<sup>76</sup> MS plays divided into five acts are: *The Wizard*, Cartwright's *Royal Slave*, Suckling's *Aglaura*, *Dick of Devonshire*, *The Lady Mother*, *Barnavil*, *Captain Underwil*, *The Distracted Emperor*, *The Captives*, Massinger's *Parliament of Love and Believe as You List*, *The Faithful Friends*, Verney's *Antipo*, *Time's Triumph*, *The Elder Brother*, the Percy plays, *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, *The Game at Chess*, *Timon*, *The Witch*, Shirley's *The General*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Femals Rebellion*. Other MS plays divided into five acts are *Birth of Hercules*, *Misogonus*, *Bugbears*, *Gismond of Salerne*, *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, *Return from Parnassus*, *Valentines*, *Silocides*, *Club Law*, and various Latin plays. I understand, of course, that this last group of dramas is of little or no value as evidence regarding act-divisions of plays written for the public stages.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Greg's introduction to his Ed. of play for Malone Society.

apparently divided into acts,<sup>78</sup> and that the correspondence of the same author with Henslowe reveals beyond a doubt his usual practice. On June 5, 1613, for example, he wrote to Henslowe that, in order to save time, "an act of ye *Arreignment of london*" had been assigned to Tourneur to write; on July 25 he wrote to the old manager that he had "altered one other sceane in the third act which they have now in parts"; on November 13, speaking of another drama, he says that "ye man was with me whoe found me wrighting the last sceane"; and an undated letter promises to Henslowe "papers to the valew of three acts" of the "Owl."<sup>79</sup>

Again, some of Heywood's plays were printed without act-divisions. One of these was his *If You Know Not Me*. But it will be remembered that Heywood protested vigorously against the careless printing of this production, that the MS of his *Captives* is divided into acts, that he states in the preface to his *Fair Maid of the West* that the story lies plainly before the reader "in acts and scenes," and that he wrote in the Epilogue to his *Brazen Age* (1598):

"He that expects five short acts can contain  
Each circumstance of these things we represent," etc.

These cases are sufficient to show that before one can speak with conviction regarding the division of plays into acts, one must go, not to the quartos, but to the author's copy, a playhouse version, or a production carefully printed from one of the sources just mentioned, as for example, the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher. In the case of Shakspere the best evidence, therefore, for indicating what Shakspere thought of dividing plays into five acts is that contained in the folio of 1623; for, as Pollard has shown, the editors of this volume were in most respects careful and conscientious in their work. And they were interested—let us emphasize this point—not in printing their friend's plays merely to be read as stories, but in getting his productions before the public as drama as well as literature.

When we examine a work got out under such conditions, what do we find? Professor Matthews, as we have seen, informs us that in the "folio of 1623, which seems to be the earliest text derived from Shakspere's own manuscripts, only seventeen out of thirty-seven

<sup>78</sup> *Anglia*, XXI, 373.

<sup>79</sup> *Henslowe Papers*, Ed. Greg, pp. 72, 73, 78, 82.

plays are divided into five acts." Now as a matter of fact, out of the thirty-six plays contained in the first folio all but nine are divided into five acts; and of these nine one (*Love's Labour's Lost*) is defective only in that the editors have failed to mark act V; another (*The Shrew*) has "Actus Primus," "Actus Tertia," "Actus Quintus"; and another (*Hamlet*) is divided into acts and scenes until II, 2. Only six plays, then, indicate in any way that Shakspere's manuscripts might not have marked off the acts. Surely one could hardly wish better evidence as to what the folio editors thought of Shakspere's conceiving his plays "in the five-act form"; and in such matters they are better authority than modern exponents of continuous performances.

The six folio plays which show no attempt to mark the acts and scenes deserve brief discussion to show that they are valueless in determining whether Shakspere ignored the five-act form. All of these dramas, as Pollard has shown,<sup>80</sup> were undivided for the simple reason that the editors, who did not consider them worth so much editorial attention as other plays, were pressed for time when these particular productions were going through the press.

As is generally recognized, *Troilus and Cressida* was secured at the last minute and thrust hastily into the folio; thus not allowing the editors sufficient time to divide it into acts and scenes.<sup>81</sup> As early as 1679 Dryden recognized that the play had been hastily and carelessly printed:

"Shakespeare (as I hinted), in the apprenticeship of his writing modelled it into that play, which is now called by the name of *Troilus and Cressida*, but so lamely is it left to us, that it is not divided into acts: which fault I ascribe to the actors who printed it after Shakespeare's death; and that too so carelessly, that a more uncorrect copy I never saw."<sup>82</sup>

It is interesting to see what this great classicist thought of Shakspere's conceiving his dramas in the five-act form.

That the failure to divide *Romeo and Juliet* into acts was due to a hasty printing of the undivided quarto of 1609—the basis of the folio text—and not to the fact that the play was undivided in the author's MS or the playhouse version, is made most probable by two facts: (1) the quarto of 1597, probably based on an imperfect

<sup>80</sup> *Sh. Folios and Quartos*, pp. 124-25.

<sup>81</sup> Lee, *Folio Facsimile*, p. xx, Pollard, p. 116.

<sup>82</sup> *Essays*, Ed. Ker. I, 203.

report of a performance, is divided into scenes after III, 4; (2) Malone saw a 1599 playhouse version of the drama which was divided into acts with the divisions further marked by music.

Of the remaining folio plays that are undivided (2 and 3 parts of *Henry VI*, *Timon*, *Antony and Cleopatra*) it should be noted that not a single one remained in the repertory of the Globe Company<sup>83</sup> as late as 1623; hence it is reasonable to suppose that prompt copies were not at hand to facilitate the division into acts. As Lee and Pollard both point out, the editors apparently placed these dramas purposely into inconspicuous parts of the volume. They probably realized that Shakspere had little to do with the *Henry VI* plays. *Antony and Cleopatra*, says Pollard,<sup>84</sup> "is so clearly out of place between *Othello* and *Cymbeline* that we must imagine it to have been overlooked and inserted in the only position available at the eleventh hour." The various irregularities of *Timon of Athens*, as J. Q. Adams, Jr., has shown,<sup>85</sup> are all easily explained by the circumstance that it was hastily thrust into the space originally left for *Troilus and Cressida*. When we take all these facts into consideration, there is no doubt that haste and carelessness, not respect on the editors' part for Shakspere's refusal to adhere to the regulation five-act form, explain the few plays in the folio that are not divided into acts.

There are other reasons for believing that Shakspere, like his contemporaries, conscientiously split his dramas up into the conventional five acts. Mr. William Archer<sup>86</sup> protests sanely and justly against the misapprehension of those who refuse to have Shakspere "think in acts" and who argue that he "conceived his plays as continuous series of events, without any pause or intermission in their flow." He argues that the act-division was intentionally employed "to give to the action of his plays a rhythm which ought not, in representation, to be obscured or falsified." "So far," he says again, "was Shakspere from ignoring the act-division that it is a question whether his art did not sometimes suffer from the supposed necessity of letting a fourth act intervene between the culmination in the third act and the catastrophe in the fifth."

<sup>83</sup> Pollard, pp. 119-20.

<sup>84</sup> *Folios and Quartos*, p. 125.

<sup>85</sup> *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, VIII, 53-63.

<sup>86</sup> *Play-making*, pp. 131, 138 n., 143.

As a matter of fact, one can pretty safely make the dogmatic statement that the Horatian dictum of five acts—a dictum that had been made familiar to England through Horace's original, Senecan tragedy, Italian comedy, and various other sources, as for example, Webbe's translation of Georgius Fabricius—was generally accepted as a conventional requisite for drama from 1590, or earlier, to 1642. If quartos undivided into acts are indicative of the general practice of ignoring Horace and writing continuous series of events to be acted without interruptions, how then—to say nothing of the host of Elizabethan plays that are divided into acts and the large amount of evidence given above for act-intermissions—can one explain the large number of casual references of the period which obviously take for granted that dramatists regularly employed the five-act form?

A few illustrations may be cited. Late in the sixteenth century Gosson wrote against the public stage. He titled one of his productions *Playes Confuted in Five Actions*. What point is there to such a title if plays on the regular stage were not consistently cut up into five sections? Mendacio in *Lingua* (V, i) surely has the public stage in mind when he says: "My Lady Lingua is just like one of these lean-witted comedians who, disturbing all to the fifth act, bring down some Mercury or Jupiter in an engine to make all friends." Nassurat in Suckling's *Goblins* (V, 5) speaks of "as strange a turn as if 'twere the fifth act in a play." Killigrew in *The Parson's Wedding* (V, 3) probably had the public stage in mind when he wrote: "Why, just now you spit out one jest stolen from a poor play, that has but two more in five acts." Lovelace in his *On Sanazar's Being Honored* says: "Once a five-knotted whip there was, the stage." The following is quoted primarily because of its close similarity to the poems by Raleigh and Quarles already cited:<sup>87</sup>

"Man's life's a tragedy; his mother's womb,  
From which he enters, is the tiring room;  
This spacious earth the theatre; and the stage  
That country which he lives in; passions, rage,  
Folly, and vice are actors; the first cry,  
The prologue to the ensuing tragedy;  
The former act consisteth of dumb shows;  
The second, he to more perfection grows;

<sup>87</sup> Hannah's Ed. of Raleigh, etc., p. 120.

I' the third he is a man, and doth begin  
 To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin;  
 I' the fourth, declines; I' the fifth, diseases clog  
 And trouble him; then death's his epilogue.”<sup>88</sup>

And finally, it may be remarked that Blount, who got out a dictionary in 1627, wrote under “Tragedy” the following: “Both Comedies and Tragedies ought to have five acts, and no more, according to that of Horace.” Other examples of this sort of thing could be cited—various examples have already been given—but these are sufficient for illustration.

Again, if continuous performances were so common in Elizabethan times, then it is somewhat strange, it seems to me, that so many historians, poets, character-writers, moralists, and preachers, as well as playwrights, should casually use the word *act* in pretty much the same theatrical sense that we use the term today. Such references, like those to five acts, are not worth much, to be sure, but they at least imply that, if Elizabethans commonly compiled series of unbroken events and called them dramas, these productions did not make much impression upon the phraseology of a large number of representative men of the period.

If acquaintance with the five-act drama as prescribed by Horace so influenced the terminology of the writers of the period and if undivided productions were so common as undivided quartos, then it seems somewhat odd that we do not find ardent protests against this “romantic” dramatic monstrosity so obviously counter to the dictum of Horace and the practice of the classicists. We hear protests against other “romantic” features. Let us examine one or two of these protests from the point of view of the five-act form. Gayton, writing contemptuously of the Bankside audiences, affirms that such

<sup>88</sup> For a few of the more interesting among the host of Elizabethan references to the “play of life,” etc., which have not been cited above, see: Jonson’s *Timber*; Herrick’s *Plaudite*; Owen’s epigram *Men a Stage-Player*; Felltham’s *Resolves*, No. XIII; Hayward’s *Edward VI*, p. 303; Wither’s introduction to *Abuses Script and Whipt*; second pt. of *Return from Parnassus*, II, i; Fletcher’s *Purple Island*, I, 37; *Elisa*, canto 2; *A pollyonitis*, III, 3, 12; *Damon and Pithias* (1571); Epitaph on Burbage; Nash’s *Death’s Summons*; some six or eight cases in Shakspere; lines preserved by Oldys said to be by Shakspere and Jonson; Ford’s *Broken Heart* (III, v); Wm. Fennor’s *Descriptions* (1616); *Northward Ho*, I, 2; Jonson’s *Farewell to the World*; Middleton’s words to Grey prefaced to *Fair Quarrel*; *Game at Chess* (V, 2); conclusion to Heywood’s *Apology for Actors*; Davies’ *Epigram on Robert Armin*; *Time’s Whistle* by R. C.; Heath’s *Epigrammes*, No. xvi; Ascham’s *Schoolmaster* (Ed. Arber, p. 34); Raleigh’s Epitaph on Sidney; Spenser’s *Tears of Muses*; Amoretti, 54; Whetstone’s elegy on Gascoigne; Drummond’s *Cypress Grove Walks*; Earl of Essex’s device before queen (Nichols, *Progresses*, II, 8). Cf. also Schelling’s Ed. of Jonson’s *Timber*, p. 121, Variorum *As You Like It*, etc.

a production as *Lingua* is not for their capacity. In comedy they demand such productions as Greene's *Tu Quoque* and *Jack Drums Entertainment*; "or if it be on holy dayes, when saylers, watermen, shoemakers, butchers and apprentices are at leisure, then it is good policy to amaze those violent spirits with some tearing tragedy, full of fights and skirmishes, as *The Guelphs and Guiblins*, *Greeks and Trojans*, or *The Three London Apprentices*, which commonly ends in six acts, the spectators frequently mounting the stage, and making a more bloody catastrophe amongst themselves than the players did."<sup>89</sup> Certainly this passage indicates that "tearing" tragedies "full of fights and skirmishes" were, as presented by the actors, composed of five acts. Brathwaite objects violently as follows against a certain type of history: "They are like some Comedies wee read now a dayes; The first Act whereof is in Asia, the next in Africa, the third in Europe, the fourth in America; and if Ptolomaeus or Marcus Paulus had found out a fifth part of the World, no question but it had been represented on their uniuersall Stage."<sup>90</sup> This does not sound as if the most wildly romantic plays were a continuous flow of events. Jonson at the end of the first act of *The Magnetic Lady* has Damplay object to the "protasis or first act" in that nothing is done in it; consequently it is no act. And the boy replies: "But you would have all come together, it seems: the clock should strike five, with the acts." Then comes the dialogue:

"Damplay—Why, if it could do so, it were well, boy.

Boy—Yes, if the nature of a clock were to speak, not strike. So if a child could be born in a play and grow up to a man, in the first scene, before he went off the stage; and then after he come forth a squire, and be made a knight; and that knight to travel between the acts, and do wonders in the Holy Land, or elsewhere; kill Paynimes, wild boars, dun cows and other monsters," etc.

Now it will be noted that, although Damplay objects to such classic features as protasis, epitasis, and catastrophe, he nevertheless insists that something must be concluded in an act, and that the boy's statement that the knight traveled "between the acts" implies that even the exponent of classic ideals realized that the *Four Prentices of London* type of drama had clear-cut act-divisions, if not indeed regular act-intermissions. We have already noted a Restoration classicist objecting to the failure to divide *Troilus and Cressida* into acts, but

<sup>89</sup> Quoted by Lawrence in *Englische Studien*, 48, p. 218.

<sup>90</sup> *Survey of History* (1638), p. 240.

it will be remembered that he did not credit Shakspere with this impropriety.

And finally, if the continuous performance was a common attraction of Elizabethan London, it is rather difficult to explain a passage in Massinger's *Roman Actor*. As is well known, plays before private audiences at court and elsewhere frequently occupied considerable time in presentation; and in III, i, of Brome's *Antipodes*, the jealous husband comments on the extreme length of such a performance:

"But it is late, and these long intermissions  
By banqueting and Courtship twixt Acts  
Will keep backe the Catastrophe of your play,  
Untill the morning light."

Now in *The Roman Actor* (III, 2) Domitia, to prevent such a waste of time, says to the Emperor before whom a play is to be given:

"Sirrah, Caesar,  
(I hug myself for 't), I have been instructing  
The players how to act; and to cut off  
All tedious impertinency, have contracted  
The tragedy into one continued scene."

If tragedies contracted, "into one continued scene" were regular occurrences in the London theatres, the words above would have sounded somewhat absurd even in a play dealing with ancient Rome. It is not at all likely that Massinger would have introduced such a dangerous passage into a dignified scene of that play which he ever held to be "the most perfect birth" of his Minerva. To be sure, undivided dramatic "devices" were acted in England. One of these is Middleton and Rowley's *World Tost at Tennis*; but it is interesting to hear what the authors say of this particular production:

"This our device we do not call a play,  
Because we break the stage's laws to-day  
Of acts and scenes."

*Conclusion.* In the preceding pages I have shown the frailty of the arguments advanced by those who advocate that performances unbroken by the "act time" were common in the Elizabethan theatres, and have given sufficient evidence, I believe, to establish the entr'acte, brief though it may have been in some cases, as a regular practice in all the Elizabethan playhouses. We have seen that performances began late enough and continued long enough to explode the idea

that actors in the public theatres were wont to utilize the natural light of London at the expense of inter-act attractions; that the evidence for such inter-act features, especially music, is abundant and convincing for the open playhouses; that quartos undivided into acts are of no value one way or the other in the matter of continuous performances; and that Shakspere, like his contemporaries, in all probability regularly conformed to the conventional five-act form as prescribed by Horace.

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# STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL PUBLISHED UNDER THE  
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PHILOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

## THE LATIN PREFIX PRO- IN FRENCH

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CHAPEL HILL  
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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## PREFACE

The substance of the present study was presented to the Faculty of Harvard University, under the title of "The History of the Prefix *Por-* in Old French," in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In its somewhat different arrangement and title, I hope it may still be acceptable to that division of the Harvard Faculty to which it was first submitted.

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge publicly my indebtedness to those members of the Romance Department of Harvard University with whom I was most intimately associated: to Professor E. S. Sheldon, who was unfailing in his guidance, advice, and criticism; to Professor J. D. M. Ford, who was ever ready with suggestion and encouragement; and especially to Professor C. H. Grandgent, whose constant aid, counsel, and inspiration were indispensable. To them I owe what good there may be in this work, but it is needless to say that they should in no way be held responsible for its defects.

WILLIAM M. DEY.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Latin prefix *pro-* had a learned and a popular development in Old French; the former was simply the Latin form intact, and the latter was *por-* (*pour-*, *pur-*) < Vulgar Latin *pro-* and *por-* (cf. Rom. X, 45) < Classical Latin *pro-*. I have proposed in the following pages to set forth the results of an investigation concerning the history of the Latin prefix *pro-*, with especial reference, however, to its popular development in Old French. I have studied the Latin prefix, with the object of determining how far the popular development, *por-*, has varied from its Latin ancestor,—if it has varied from it at all; whether it has retained all the meanings of the latter, what new meanings it has assumed, and the comparative proportions of these meanings, new and old.

This inquiry shows at least one new meaning, in which the prefix has an intensive sense, similar to that of Latin *per-* (Old French *par-*), and indicates a slight degree of increase of the meaning *for*, *for the sake of*, within the list of Old French verbs descended from the Latin through popular sources. I have endeavored to study the causes of these developments and their extent.

For the sake of investigating the problems thus briefly presented, I have made a classification of the Old French verbs compounded with *por-*; and I include under the verbs such derivatives as verbal substantives, adjectives, adverbs, etc., since they are formed on the verb and have no origin apart from it. The classification embraces the following groups:

1. Compounds in which *por-* retained its Latin signification;
2. Compounds in which *por-* assumed new meaning.

Then, I have discussed several special cases and miscellaneous words which might be expected to appear in a treatment of *por-*, but which prove to be formed with the preposition *por* and not the prefix.

Finally, to determine the significance of the interchange between *pro-* and *por-*, I include a classification of words which had both *pro-* and *por-* in Old French, showing which of these retained only *por-* and which only *pro-* in Modern French, thus comparing the vitality of the two prefixes; and I have added lists of the words with *pro-* in Old French, the words with *pro-* which have come over into Modern French, and new words with *pro-* in Modern French.

## *Por-* IN COMPOSITION WITH VERBS

*Por-* in composition with verbs furnishes the largest group of *por-* compounds in Old French; there were almost seventy-five verbs with this prefix, of which no more than seven<sup>1</sup> remain in Modern French: *portraire*, *pourchasser*, *pourfendre*, *pourparler* (a substantive in Modern French), *pourpenser*, *poursuivre*, and *pourvoir*. In order to study the force of the prefix, I shall divide these compounds of *por-* with a verb into the following groups:<sup>2</sup>

1. Compounds in which *por-* retained its Latin signification;
2. Compounds in which *por-* assumed new meaning.

### I. COMPOUNDS IN WHICH *Por-* RETAINED ITS LATIN SIGNIFICATION

In Classical Latin, the preposition *pro* essentially meant *before*. In composition, "its signification has reference either to place: *before*, *forwards*; or to protection: *for*."<sup>3</sup> In the literal sense of *before*, *ante* replaced the preposition *pro* and threw the latter into the figurative meaning of *before*, *for protection or defence*; *in behalf of*, *for the sake of*, *for*, and that threw the French preposition *pro* into the same meaning and also into that of *in order to*. It was the preposition that reacted upon the prefix, since the two had the same form and the same source, attracting the latter to significations most nearly corresponding to the meaning of the former. Since the preposition came into Old French with a complete loss of its literal signification, it was natural that the prefix, also, in a great many cases, should have lost that signification; on the other hand, we should not be surprised to see a retention of this literal signification of *forth*, *before*, in some words by virtue of whose innate meaning the prefix could have nothing but its literal sense. We see it in such verbs as *porpeindre*, to deck out; *porpendre*, to cover, adorn with objects; *porceindre*, to surround, enclose; *pourfeuillier*, to cover or surround with leaves; *soi poroindre*, to lick over; also in the verbs *porsachier*, to draw out or forth, *poraillir*, to leap or spring forth, to make one jump, *soi pursuivre*, to

<sup>1</sup> *Porsachier* is another verb in Modern French with the prefix, but it did not occur in Old French.

<sup>2</sup> There are three verbs registered by Godefroy which I have put in neither of these groups. *pourbeller*, to adorn, ornament; *pornier*, to deny, renounce; *porsembler*, to resemble—because the prefix seems to add nothing to the simple verb. They are very rare words, and from the one example cited under each of them, it would be difficult to determine whether or not the prefix has any force.

<sup>3</sup> Harper's Latin Dictionary, p. 1448.

extend, reach out, *portendre*, to spread out, stretch forth or out, *pourbondir*, to jump, leap with a bound, *porgeter*, to throw out, throw on the ground.

Some of these verbs had the compound form in Latin: *porceindre* <*procingere*, to gird up, prepare, equip; *porpendre* <*propendere*, to hang forth or forward, hang down; *portendre* <*protendere*, to stretch forth or out, extend; *porsaillir* <*prosiliire* <*pro+salire*), to leap or spring forth; *portraire* <*protrahere*, to draw forth, prolong. At first sight it might seem that there were room for doubt concerning the exact force of the prefix in some of these verbs, but there is certainly something of its early meaning in each of them, and that element is quite sufficient to attest its survival.

In Modern French, we have but one of these verbs continued: *portraire*. So we see that this value of the prefix had but little vitality, and by virtue of the meanings of the preposition, seemed out of place in French. *Portraire*, though now obsolete (cf. *Dictionnaire Général*), was probably in use as late as the 17th century. Cf. Middle English *purtray*.

¶ The following examples will show *por-* in the sense of *forth, out, before*:

*Porceindre*, to surround, enclose, encompass:

La chambre fu richement peinte,  
De dras de soie fut *porsainte*.  
(Godefroy)

Si commença Romulus a *porceindre* de fossez et de murs tout le pourpris de Romme. (Ibid.)

Einsin con li fossez lou *porceint*. (Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal substantives *porceint* and *porceinte*.

*Porferir*, to furnish, adorn, decorate:

Escorchier et *pourferir* partout, et entabler de plastre.  
(Godefroy)

Sur sa tache de *pourferir* de chaux et de sablon tous les murs neufs.

(Ibid.)

*Porfichier*, to spur, spur on:

A l'encontre lor vint a .I. terre montant  
Issi com li Francheis les aloient tesant,  
Et tuit chil de Vauclere, a esfors *pourfichant*.  
(Dooth de Maience, 10244-46).  
Oliviers, dist li mes qui s'est mult *porfiche*,

Par icel Dex de gloire qui en crois fu drechié.

(Ren. de Montauban, p. 394, v. 4)

Mult veissiez gent *porfichier*,

Escuz lever, lances drecier.

(Godefroy)

*Porfiler*, to border, put a border on:

Item pour nostre dit filz, le jour de la mi aoust, une robe de quatre garnemens tenant. .VI<sup>o</sup>. ventres et .XII. letices pour *pourfiler* la cloche.

(Godefroy)

Une mitre en broderie *porphylee* de semence de perles fines.

(Ibid.)

In a figurative sense, to place as a border:

Par toy mesure la mer va *porfilant* les flots

A l'entour de la terre.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porfil*, *porflet*, and *porfileure*. Cf. also the English *purple* (verb and noun).

*Porgesir*, to abuse, violate:

Ki *purgist* femme per forze forfait ad les membres.

(Godefroy)

E *purgisent* les dames dejuste lur mariz.

(Ibid.)

Des meschines firent occire

Pluseurs qui vouldrent *porgesir*,

Qui nes vouloient consentir

Nes occioient pas, par el

Paien estoient li cruel.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porgisement*.

*Porgeter*, to throw out, throw on the ground; to send:

Confondu serunt, kar Deus *purjetad* eals.

(Godefroy)

En telle maniere les abat, reverse et *pougette* que nul devant luy ne demeure.

(Ibid.)

Liquel qui fermereit son hostaul et non logereit ceu qui *havreit estei* *porgitei* per escript, et non obedereit a ceu qui les sereit establi, tel doit estre condempnei, etc.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porget*, *porgetage*, *porgelement*, used of the roughcasting of walls, and *porgeteur*, a roughcaster. Cf. also *porgelement* in the sense of *design*, *project*:

Or avoit le vydame d'Amiens aucuns subtils *pourjellemens* et moyens sur le chasteau de Muyn, qui donnoit largement meschief.

(Ibid.)

*Pormener*, to bring, walk:

Cilz qui ces darres *pourmoinent* doient estre ou conduit monseigneur l'evesque.

(Godefroy)

Il le *pormaine* por le miex refroidier.

(Raoul de Cambrai, 3405)

Li sors G. le destrier *pormena*.

(Ibid., 3406)

Figuratively, *to pursue, torment*:

Les gens du duc *pourmoient* ceulz du roi si griefvment

Qu'il ne pevent suffrir leur corps.

(Godefroy)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *pormenage*, *pormenement*, *pormenoir*, *pormeneresse*, and *pormenanc*.

*Soi poroindre*, to lick around or over:

Par mi la fontaine nooent

Puroignient s'i e baignoent.

(Godefroy)

Baignnies le en iaque froide et le metes au soleil en arbre u il *se puisse* espeluquier et *pouroindre*.

(Ibid.)

*Porpeindre*, to paint around, deck out:

Ilz avoient plus longues robes que autres gens, et les *pourpainedoient* toutes d'espines.

(Godefroy)

*Porpendre*, to cover, adorn with objects hung around:

Moult *fu* bien *porpendue* la grant sale pavée

De jons et de mentastre, de rose enluminée.

(Ren. de Montauban, p. 114, ll. 16-17.)

Lors jette ses yeulx au comble du temple et voyt tout en icelle maniere que le fons estoit pourplanté de glayves, le ciel en estoit *pourpendu*.

(Godefroy)

*Porpisser*, pisser dans ses habits, pisser de peur (cf. Latin *profundere*, to pour forth or out, and German *auspisser*):

Gommeline se femme se prist a *porpisser*;

Amis Maquesai frere, wan deves vos aler,

Anuit songa un songe dont je suis bosoflé. . . . .

(Godefroy)

Quant Maquesai revint si prist a *porpisser*.

(Ibid.)

*Porposer*, to propose (cf. English *purpose*):

Quant home *porpose* en son cuer qu'il ne se repantira ja de son pechié.

(Godefroy)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porppos*, *porpost*, and *porposement*.

*Porriger*, to hold out, present; *reflexively*, to extend, to stretch one's self out. This verb has not a great deal of significance for us, since it is simply the Latin *porrigere* brought over into French. The latter word had no popular development,

although Körting (7318) registers under it Old French *pūsier* which, according to Tobler, < \**procerare*: cf. Körting, 7447.

*Porsachier*, to draw out, forth:

L'un a feru, l'autre a tout defrōē,

Le tierch *poursache*, le quart a afolē.

(Le Moniage Guillaume, seconde rédaction, 1970-71.)

Lors le raerdent et tirent et *porsacent*,

Tant l'apresserent la pute gent salvage

Qu'encontre terre tout malgré suen l'enbatent.

(Ibid. 3133-35.)

De toutes pars le *porsacieren* mout.

(Ibid., 6357.)

Ele le portasta, et trova qu'il avoit l'espaulle hors du liu. Ele le mania tant a ses blances mains et *porsaca*, si con dix le vaut, qui les amans ainme, qu'ele revint au liu.

(Aucassin et Nicollete, p. 31, l. 10.)

*Porsaillir*, to jump, leap, spring:

Sa covreture fu d'un paile molt chier;

A grant merveille *porsailloit* son destrier;

Bien resanbloit le sien pere B.

(Raoul de Cambrai, 7756-58.)

De la joye qu'il en eust faisoit son cheval *porsaillir* si hault qu'il sembloit qui vollast.

(Godefroy)

Mult veissiez cez chanz fremir,

Poindre chevals e *porsaillir*.

(Ibid.)

*Porseoir*, to surround, extend:

*Porsise estoit* de bones peres

Mult precioses e mult cheres.

(Godefroy)

O le chastiau come li *se porsiet* o le ville.

(Ibid.)

Un hebergement si comme il *se poursiet* o le font et o le vergier.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porsoient*.

*Portendre*, to extend, spread out, stretch forth or out; to cover, bedeck; to prolong:

Le chemin resplendissoit tout de parement et de draps de soye et de pailes qui estoient *pourtendus* aux lances et aux perches que on avoit fichees en terre.

(Godefroy)

De jons, de mantastre et de gles

Sont totes jonchies les rues

Et par dessore *portandues*

De cortines et de tapiz,  
 De diapres et de samiz.  
 (Erec et Enide, 2364-68.)  
 En une chambre a or ovree  
 E de cristal pavemente  
 Que plus reluist cler de soleil  
 D'escharboncles e d'or vermeil,  
 Portendue de pailes chiers,  
 Manda Prianz ses conseilliers.

(Le Roman de Troie, 11753-58.)  
 Li reis fait en sa chambre aconduire sa fille;  
 Portendue est trestote de palies et cortines.

(Karls Reise, 705-6.)  
 A la lune ont la nuit ovré,  
 Portendu ont tout le fossé  
 D'une tente qu'ot Eneas.  
 (Eneas, 7293-95.)

Tot environ *fu portendus*  
 O pels, o cordes et o fuz.  
 (Ibid., 7305-6).

Que vous seroit la chose si longe *portendue*?  
 (Godefroy)

Cf. the verbal substantive *portendue*.

*Portraire*, to form, shape; to represent, paint, trace:

Front out velu cum un urs.

*Portreit* trestut a reburs.

(Œuvres de Simund de Freine, Vie de Saint Georges, 1026-27.)

Li trei sage devin ont fait  
 Un molle entaillié e *portrait*  
 De la plus riche uevre qui fust  
 Ne que nus hom veeir podist  
 (Le Roman de Troie, 16729-32).

L'une i *portrest* geometrie,  
 Si com ele esgarde et mesure  
 Con li ciaus et la terre dure. . . . .  
 (Erec et Enide, 6746-48.)

Erec s'assist de l'autre part  
 Dessus l'image d'un liepart,  
 Qui el tapit estoit *portreite*.  
 (Ibid., 2633-35.)

Li braious fu de coton et de paille,  
 A rices oeuvres broudees et *portrailes*. . . . .

(Le Moniage Guillaume, seconde rédaction, 725-26.)

Nus tele ne porroit *pourtraire*  
 De pourtraour ne de pincel.

(Le Garçon et l'Aveugle, 127-28.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *portraiance*, *portraicement*, *portraior*, *portrait*, *portraiture*, and *portraiteor*.

*Portrayer*, to describe:

Force bestes, oiseaux, poissons et autres choses singulieres dont Nicole Lefebvre avoit *pourtrayé* les façons.

(Godefroy)

*Pourbondir*, to jump, leap; wheel about; beat:

Je gaige a toy ung gros que je saulteray, or *pourbondiray* oultre ce ruyseau.

(Godefroy)

La eussiez veu mains bons destriers *pourbondir* et faire pennades.

(Ibid.)

Malheureux homme, tu t'abuses bien. Cuides tu ja estre quitte de nos mains, qui tant avons justes causes et actions en toy pour te *pourbondir*?

(Ibid.)

*Pourfueillier*, to cover or surround with leaves:

6 livres de soie, dont toute ladite chambre fu traciee, le seurtail et le fucillage *pourfueillit*, et tout le champ fu rabatut de poins.

(Godefroy)

*Poursegier*, to attack, besiege:

Mais nostre cours est *poursegie*

De gent plainne de gloutenie,

Si vuelent si tout engloutir.

(Godefroy)

## 2. COMPOUNDS IN WHICH *Por-* ASSUMED NEW MEANING

In Old French there is extensive confusion between the prefixes *por-*, and *par-* (<Latin *per-*), in which the former has assumed the intensive force of the latter.

This confusion must be said to have its origin in post-Classical Latin. Professor A. A. Howard, of Harvard University, while not favoring the assumption that *pro-* had intensive force in the classical period, has called my attention, however, to the following two words, and has given me the citation for the second: *propalam* and *propolluo*. *Propalam* is a good classical word, meaning "openly, publicly, manifestly:" Alii *propalam*, alii per occultum, Tacitus, Annals, 6, 7; *ratio propalam*, Plautus, Epidicus, I, I, 10; dicere *propalam*, Livy, 34, 33. Undoubtedly here *pro-* reenforces *palam*, but only by virtue of innately possessing a similar meaning, therefore causing a repetition and holding the mind a moment longer on the thought expressed in *palam*. This is far from being an equivalent of *per-*, much less a confusion with

it. *Propolluo*, "to defile or pollute," carries even less weight; it occurs in only one passage: Tacitus, Annals, 3, 66, where the reading, moreover, is considered as doubtful (cf. Harper's Latin Dictionary, p. 1471). Therefore, it can hardly be asserted that *pro-* was confused with *per-* in Classical Latin.

In post-Classical Latin, on the other hand, there are more evident signs that *pro-* was encroaching upon the domain of *per-*. We see the confusion in *perpungere*, "to pierce through and through" (attested only in past part. *perpunctum*), and *propungere*, "to pierce, prick"; cf. the Old French *parpoint* (<*perpunctum*) and *pourpoint* (<*pro-punctum*), Modern French *pourpoint*. I have found examples of these words used in nearly the same sense, in the works of Caelius Aurelianus, a 5th Century physician. In his *Acutae Passiones*, 2, 10, we find: "Item *perpuncti* sentiunt, vel lacesisti horrescunt: et eorum vultus in ruborum florescit," and in the *Tardae* (or *Chronicae*) *Passiones*, I, I: "Tunc partium *propungentibus* pilis capitis, atque buccarum, vel temporum musculis, quos siagonas adpellant, collo, et mento, cum subjectis gutturis, quae ante rumam vocant, dropacem adponemus." I have examined Gröber's "Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter" (in Wölfflin's *Archiv für latein. Lexikog. und Gram.*), but that series of articles furnishes no further evidence of this phenomenon.

Coming down to the Mediaeval Latin period: DuCange registers the following phenomena which, however, may only represent confusion springing from the French itself: *perpacare* or *perpagare*, which he defines as "debitum integre persolvere," and *propagare*, "solvere, exsolvere, payer entièrement," giving the Old French verbs *parpaier* and *porpaier* (cf. the derivatives *perpagatio* and *propagatio*, and the corresponding French *parpaie* and *porpaie*); *proaequare*, "ex aequo partiri," which, as DuCange remarks, is probably for *peraequare*; *pro* for *per* in the Lex Salica, 24, §4: "Si quis ascum de intro clave repositum et in suspenso *pro* studio positum furaverit, etc., id est, *per* studium seu de industria."

In Old French I find conclusive evidence of the extent of this phenomenon. In the list which follows I present fifty-one verbs in which the prefix *por-* apparently has the intensive force of *par-*, in twenty of which doublets have been produced bearing the two prefixes in question.

Meyer-Lübke, III, p. 518, attempts to explain this phenomenon as follows: "En tout premier lieu, il faut observer que *pro* s'est confondu souvent avec *per*, notamment d'une part en roum. *pre*, eng.-ital. et a.-prov. *per* et d'autre part en esp.-port. *por*, tandis que le français conserve en général une distinction entre *pour* et *par*. Toutefois ce n'est aussi que d'une façon générale, car certains documents de l'Est appartenant au moyen âge accordent notamment à *por* dans une proportion assez considérable la place de *par*. . . . Cette confusion de deux prépositions qui pour le sens ne se rapprochent que dans peu de cas, n'est pas très facile à expliquer. Dans les régions du français de l'Est où *e* entravé devient *o* (I, p. 122), *por* pourrait être phonétiquement issu de *per*, au moins devant les mots à initiale consonnantique; le port. *por*, d'après I, p. 308 (cf. also Cornu, Rom. XI, 91-95 and Baist, Zs. f. rom. Phil., VII, 634-36), admet aussi une interprétation phonétique. Mais la chose n'est guère admissible en espagnol, et il est tout aussi difficile de tirer *per* de *por* en roumain, en italien et en provençal. L'équivalence entre la préposition ombrienne *per* et la préposition latine *pro* (ombr. *fratrus per*=lat. *pro fratribus*) peut certes peser dans la balance, mais cependant dans une mesure très restreinte. On ne devra donc pas repousser l'hypothèse que l'absence complète d'accentuation aurait eu pour conséquence une réduction de *per* et *pro* à *pr*, d'où seraient alors résultés dans certaines régions *per* et dans les autres *por*. Il est vrai qu'en cette hypothèse un point reste obscur, à savoir pourquoi le Nord de la France distingue *per* et *por*. A l'Ouest, à côté de *por*, on rencontre également *para*, dont le second élément renferme *ad* et qui indique ainsi plus clairement le but dans l'espace, la direction. Conformément à ces données, *para* exprime plutôt l'idée de but, *por* celle de cause, bien que cette distinction ne soit pas observée avec une rigueur absolue."

Turning to the passage which he cites, vol. I (Phonétique), p. 122, we read: "Dans l'Est, *e* passe aussi à *oi*, puis tantôt à *a*, tantôt à *o*. Les monuments du Moyen-Age offrent de nombreux exemples de ces deux sons: *ploge* NE. XVIII, 159, Nancy 1274, *plogarie* et *daterie* (debitoria) 170, Metz 1276, *aquaste*, *datre* 134, Metz 1270, *reiquaste* 149, Toul 1270 ou 1296, etc., Le Psautier écrit *e*, *ai*, *a*, il en est de même de la traduction de Végèce où l'on trouve *autre*: *matre* 149, formes dans lesquelles on peut lire aussi bien *a* que *o*, tandis que

*asme* (*aestimat*): *pasme* 2428 *debatre*: *matre* 3526 parlent en faveur de *a*; mais, en regard, on trouve de nouveau *floche*: *aproche* 9228. Dans le commentaire sur Ezéchiel, on rencontre généralement *ai*, *a*, et dans les écrits bourguignons comme Flovent et Girart de Rossillon *a*. Il y a lieu de parler encore des cas nombreux de métathèses orthographiques: *moible*, *noible*, *joir*, *choises*, *loi* (loup), *nevoit* Psaut. 44, *recloise* Ph. Vign., etc. Dans les dialectes vivants on trouve tantôt *o*, tantôt *a*, v. g. dans le Morvan: *-otte*, *anosse*, *forme*, *mole*, *soiſe*, *loiſe*, *noiſ*; *grôle* (*gracilis*) prouve que cet *o* remonte à un plus ancien *ai*. Le même fait existe dans le bassin supérieur de la Moselle, et aussi sporadiquement en Lorraine. Mais, par contre, les patois des environs de Metz, et, en partie aussi, ceux du versant Est des Vosges présentent *a*. De même que pour *e* libre, nous devons supposer ici aussi deux centres: l'un, celui du Sud-Est (Bourgogne) dans lequel *e* entravé, de même que *e* libre, passe à *oi* et plus tard à *o*, l'autre, comprenant Metz, dans lequel *ɛ*, par suite d'un abrègement, passe à *ɛ*, puis à *ə* très ouvert, puis enfin à *a*."

It will be observed that not a single case supports the hypothesis that the *ɛ* of Latin *per* could be expected to produce *o*. Meyer-Lübke's first example, *ploge*, is represented in Central French by *pleige*. Nor indeed does he claim to treat of such transformation of the Latin *ɛ*, so his argument may as well be dismissed. The change of *ei*+nasal to *oi* in the East is well recognized, but has nothing to do with the subject.

I may also call attention briefly to the influence exerted upon a vowel by a preceding or following labial and that exerted by a following (rarely by a preceding) *r*. The first of these is a rounding influence, and would tend to change *par* to *por*. I quote the following from Nyrop, Gram. Hist., I, pp. 234-5: "L'influence des labiales est progressive ou régressive. Une consonne labiale peut arrondir une voyelle normale, précédente ou suivante. . . . Dans quelques cas, la labialisation paraît changer le lieu d'articulation de la voyelle, de sorte que *a* devient *o* comme dans *vacare* > \**vocare*, \**vacius* > \**vōcius* > *vuide*, *vide*, *quadratus* > \**quodratus*. Ce phénomène explique peut-être le passage de *ai* à *oi* qu'on trouve dans plusieurs mots: *Ambaise* (*Ambacia*) > *Amboise*," etc. The second influence is an opening one, which would tend to change *pōr* to *pōr*, and may be appealed to as

the reason for the actual change of Latin *per* to *par*; cf. also *pigritia* > *peresse* > *paresse*. I quote again from Nyrop, I, p. 241: "La consonne roulée *r*, qu'elle soit dentale ou uvulaire, exerce une influence 'ouvrante' sur la voyelle précédente (rarement sur la voyelle suivante)."

What we have in *por-* and *par-* is an initial, unaccented syllable; this leads to the supposition that the vowel is not strong, and is subject to easy change. Furthermore, in the majority of cases to be considered, the stem of the verb begins with a consonant, which gives position to the vowel, but this does not seem to retard the change. Of the doublets, seventeen show the vowel in position.

The force of the prefix *par-* was generally recognized; the force of *por-*, unless it could be given the meaning of *for*, analogous to that of the preposition, or the meaning of *forth, forward*, analogous to that of the Latin prefix, must have been puzzling to the great majority of speakers. It is my firm belief that the explanation of this phenomenon is not to be found in phonetic change—at least, it has not been, and probably cannot be, explained thus—but that the principal factor in the confusion was a psychological one; that the speaker, attempting to explain the additional value given by the prefix *por-* to a verb which he already knew as a simple verb, found nothing better than to make it an intensive, thus producing a confusion of sense and an apparent identity of meaning in these two prefixes which differed only in the sound of an unaccented vowel. It is not strange that this should have been accompanied in some instances by a substitution of one of these prefixes for the other, *par-* more frequently replacing *por-* because of its apparently greater fitness to bear the intensive force. The verbs which show this confusion of form are: *poraler* and *paraler*, *porardeir* and *parardoir*, *porbatre* and *parbattre*, *pourbouillier* (-*bouillir*) and *parboillir*, *porchacier* and *parchasser*, *porchanter* and *parchanter*, *pourestendre* and *parestendre*, *porfaire* and *parfaire*, *porfendre* and *parfendre*, *porfermer* and *parfermer*, *porfornir* and *parfournir*, *porlire* and *parlire*, *porloignier* and *parloignier*, *porlongier* and *parlongier*, *porpaier* and *parpaier*, *porparler* and *parparler*, *orpenser* and *parpenser*, *porpiller* and *parpiller*, *porprendre* and *parprendre*, *porsoldre* and *parsoudre*.

The confusion of meaning is one that was not limited by the historical form of words, and may therefore have continued through a much longer period. It undoubtedly affected a considerably larger number, and I include them with the others in the list which follows:

*Poraler* (cf. *paraler*), to traverse, go through, travel over; to seek everywhere; to pursue:

Tote Bretaigne *porala*.

(Godefroy)

Si arai Herchembaut le traître trouvé,  
Que je croi que on m'a ou tolu ou emblé,  
Ou déablez d'enfer l'ont de moi escapé,  
Que trouver ne le puis, si l'ai moult *poralt*.

(Doon de Maience, 5982-85.)

Isnelement cil sunt levé,  
Tot le mostier ont *poralt*.

(Godefroy)

L'igliese ert ja avironnée,  
Ses feiz entor e *poralee*.

(Ibid.)

Si avons, merci Deu, tant quis et *poralt*,  
Renaus ne quiert à vos nule desloiauté.

(Ren. de Montauban, p. 316, v. 22.)

Cf. the verbal substantives *poralee* and *poralement*.

*Porardeir* (cf. *parardoir*), to burn completely:

Feis saisir sa terre, le suen repondre,  
Ses citez *porardeir*, ses chastials fondre.

(Godefroy)

Cf. *porardre* (-adre), infin. used as a noun:

Et ardirent ceuls de Silly  
Qui ont a leur *poradre* failly.

(Ibid.)

*Porbatre* (cf. *parbattre*), to beat thoroughly:

Quant la char Deu ont *porbatus*.

(Godefroy)

Si l'ont a la terre batu;  
A ce cop l'ont tant *porbatus*,  
Que des bastons, que de lors mains,  
C'onques nule toile de Rains,  
Ne d'autre leu, tant fust escrue,  
Ne fu si tres bien *porbatus*.

(Ibid.)

*Porcerchier*, to seek diligently:

*Porcerchier* les escriptures.

(Godefroy)

*Porchacier* (cf. *parchasser*), to seek, seek to obtain; to get, obtain. Cf. English *purchase*, always with the latter meaning: "to pursue and obtain; to acquire by seeking; to obtain by paying money or its equivalent."

The examples follow:

Kar bien sachez, al veir dire,  
 Kant il avrad tut pesché  
 De *purchacer* evesché,  
 Pur peché ne lerra pas  
 De dire, tien, pour ceo l'avras.

(Simund de Freine, *Le Roman de Phil.*, 1070-74.)

Oiés por Dieu le mortel traison,  
 Comme il *porcacent* Guillaume grant dolor.  
 (Le *Moniage Guillaume*, seconde rédaction, 336-37.)  
 Mout a d'ermites en icestui boscage,  
 Qui par cest bois lor vlande *porcacent*. . . . .  
 (Ibid. 2249-50.)

Devant a la voie s'acquiaut  
 Tant qu'il santi dessoz le vant,  
 Si come il s'an aloit devant,  
 Bestes sauvages an pasture,  
 Si le semont fains et nature  
 D'aler an proie et de chacier  
 Por sa vitaille *porchacier*. . . . .

(*Yvain*, 3416-22.)

"Dame, relevez l'an  
 Et metez painne et force et san  
 A la pes querre et au pardon,  
 Que nus ne li puet se vos non  
 An tot le monde *porchacier*!"

(Ibid., 6733-37.)

Pechié fait s'el *pourchace*  
 M'ire et mon destorbier.

(*Chansons de Gace Brûlé*, XXVI, 27-28.)

Dès or vos purrez *purchacier*,  
 Car il desdeigne vostre amor  
 E ad pris femme a grant honor,  
 La fille del dux de Bretaigne.

(*Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, 912-15.)  
 No ferai pas! *Porchacie* autre anor!  
 (Les *Narbonnais*, 51.)

Reflexively:

Et dist la dame: "Vassal, por Dieu del ciel,  
 "D'une autre femme *vous* estuet *porchacier*:

"Dier m'a rendue a mon marit premier."

(Raoul de Cambrai, 7558-60.)

Au matinet ne se mist en oubli,

Ains se *pourcache* de faire son abit.

(Le Moniage Guillaume, seconde rédaction, 2750-51.)

Car l'amirant, qui s'an estoit fois

Devant Nerbone, o il fu desconfis,

*Se fu ja tant porchacé* et porquis.

Que il ot ja .c. milliers d'Arabis

Por venir a Nerbone.

(Les Narbonnais, 8059-63.)

Li reis Marsilie s'en *purcaçat* asez,

Al premier an fist ses bries seieler.

(La Chanson de Roland, 2612-13.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porchacement*, *porchas*, and *porchaceor*.

*Porchangier*, to change:

Il ne dit mot qu'il ne *pourcange*.

(Godefroy)

*Porchanter* (cf. *parchanter*), to sing completely or to the end:

Ploré esteient come rei

E *porchant* solonc lor lei.

(Le Roman de Troie, 22403-4.)

Lors chante l'on cest vers: hostias, etc., et apres la messe le *porchante* li pres-tres.

(Godefroy)

*Porcorre*, to run everywhere or in all directions:

Et pourra ledit Monsour Hervé lever, courre, *pourcourre* et chacier en tous les bois auxdits religieux.

(Godefroy)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porcors*.

*Porcoudre*, to sew, bind:

Quant vint li tens de lur errer,

Lur nef prengent dunc a serrer;

De quirs de buf la *purcousent*,

Quar cil que sunt a plen usent.

(Godefroy)

*Porcourir*, to cover completely, protect:

Dunkes fut ele defendue de cel meisme homme, et parmeneie a cel habit cui ele desiroit par lo Sanior *porcousand*.

(Godefroy)

Cestui li tot poissanz et li merciables Deus en fiaelant *porcorrit* de la parmanable bature.

(Ibid.)

*Porcuidier* (neuter and reflexive), to be cautious, prepare one's self:

Vers lui cort, que prendre le cuide,

Mes Lanceloz bien *se porcuide*.

(Le Chevalier de la Charrette, 7095-96.)  
 Qui dont veist chascun garnir et *pourcuidier*,  
 Tempre donnent avaine serjant et escuier.

(Godefroy)

De grant renon fu Theseus  
 Et moult fu preus Piritheus  
 De la guerre *se porcuidierent*  
 Et vivement se porkacièrent.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal adjective *porcuist*, contriving, plotting.

*Porfaire* (cf. *porfaire*), to achieve, effect, accomplish, finish:  
 De feu *pourferas* nous plus daomaze e mesprise.

(Godefroy)

*Porferoi* ce que sera mes deslis,  
 D'ardoir, de pendre, de faire pute fin.  
 (Ibid.)

Mais ancor *porfict* maintes choses en ceste monde k'il vulet tot laier et si ne  
 puet.

(Ibid.)

Pour aidier a *pourfaire* la fermetee ou closture de ladite ville.

(Ibid.)

*Porfendre* (cf. *porfendre*), to rend, break completely:

Et quanque Cligés d'aus ataint,  
 Devant son cop riens ne remaint,  
 Que tot ne *porfande* et deronpe. . . . .  
 (Cligés, 3799-3801.)

Toz eüst esté *porfandus*,  
 Se ceste avanture ne fust.

(Yvain, 940-41.)

Si le poissent tot *porfandre*  
 Aussi come un aignelet tandre.

(Ibid., 5277-78).

O le brant d'acier esmolu,  
 L'a tot jusqu' es denz *porfendu*.  
 (Le Roman de Troie, 8855-56.)

*Porfermer* (cf. *parfermer*), to enclose:

La citeit *fut porfermee* tout altour.

(Godefroy)

*Porforcier*, to force, constrain, oblige:

Sachent touz que Guyon Sabineau e Hodeart sa feme, de lour volonté, sans  
 estre *pourforcies*, ont vendu et otráé a Guillaume . . . . . treis quartiers de  
 pré, etc.

(Godefroy)

De leur bone volenté, non pas a ce *pourforcié*.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porforcement* and *porforçant*.

*Porfornir* (cf. *parfournir*), to carry out, finish, achieve:

Hues de Boves et Renaus

Vorrent *poufurnir* lor eneaus

(Godefroy)

Parce que au *porfonir* nostre conqueste, nos avons besoigne de plusor choses qui ne se treuvent mie en nos parties, nos vos mandons que chascuns d'entre vos, princes, chevetaines nos doies mander .M. vestimens de cuir.

(Ibid.)

*Porgarantir* (-*werantir*), to guarantee, warrant completely:

Et se li doit *pourwerantir* an et jour.

(Godefroy)

Se Perrins ne li *pourwerantir* son aquast an alluet a touz jours, Ancillous iroit a son contreverage pour tout faire et tout panre par lo crant de Perrin.

(Ibid.)

*Porgarder*, to watch over, guard, preserve:

Mais l'oignementz e la figure,

Ou erent escrit li conjure,

E li aneaus d'or qu'il portot

Le defendeit e *porguardol*.

(Le Roman de Troie, 1929-32.)

Li sire le *purguard* e vivifit lui.

(Godefroy)

Mais Dame Dex de glore l'en puet bien delivrer,

Ki ses amis *porgarde*, qui de cuer l'ont amé.

(Ren. de Montauban, p. 275, v. 22.)

*Porgouster*, to taste; fig., to experience:

Il estendit sa main en *porgoustan* et fist libacion en sanc de grape.

(Godefroy)

Le seignor vengeres qui le mort *porgosta*.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porgoustement*.

*Porgouatier*, reflex., to protect one's self:

Li jais i descent et la pie,

Et mainz qui ne s'en gardent mie,

Qui legiers sunt a engignier,

Quer ne s'en sevent *porgouatier*.

(Godefroy)

*Porlire* (cf. *parlire*), to read entirely or to the end:

Et quant les letres out veues,

Et de chief en chief *porleues*. . . . .

(Godefroy)

Apres ce que j'ai leu et *poulen* et porveu par maintes fois. . . . .  
(*Ibid.*)

Il *pouriſi* les lettrez et l'istoire avisa,  
Le treason Gaufrroi toute dedens trouva.  
(*Ibid.*)

*Porloignier* (cf. *parloignier*), to defer, delay; to lengthen, protract; to remove to a distance (cf. Eng. *to parloin*):

Mout li tarja puis l'anuitier,  
Que son plait li fait *porloignier*.  
(*Le Roman de Troie*, 1471-72.)  
N'i ot rien plus del *porloignier*:  
Cil s'alerent apareillier.  
(*Ibid.*, 6217-18.)

Li rois monte et tuit sont monté,  
Si viennent au chastel poignant;  
Que plus ne le vont *porloignant*.  
(*Cligés*, 2198-2200.)

Coment qu'Amors joie me guerredoigne,  
Bien le me fet chierement comparer,  
Si comme cil qui delaie et *porloigne*,  
Et si me vuet a son plesir grever.

(*Chansons de Gace Brûlé*, XXIII, 8-11.)

Si deist par aventure en son langaige bourguignon que encores avoit il *pouloigné* le roy Charle.

(*Godefroy*)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porloignance*, *porloignement*, and *porloigne*:

Quant Tristan oit n'i a *porloigne*,  
Que li rois veut qu'il s'en esloigne,  
De la roine congé prent.  
(*Béroul, Tristan*, 2915-17).

*Porlongier* (cf. *parlongier*), to put off, defer, lengthen out; to prolong the account of:

Diex, cant t'apellai, si m'ois,  
Mon tribul *poullongies* feis.  
(*Godefroy*)

Mais por coi iroie allongant  
La bataille ne *porlongant*?  
(*Ibid.*)

Cf. the verbal substantives *porlongance* and *porlongement*, and English *prolong*.  
*Porofrir*, to offer, present:

Pur ses pecchiez deu *puroffrid* son guant.  
(*La Chanson de Roland*, 2365.)

Chascuns s'an *porofre* et presante.  
(*Erec et Enide*, 2691.)

Li autre nel pot plus sofrit

Quant il l'ol soi *porofrir*  
 De la bataille a tel vertu.  
 (Ibid., 837-39.)  
 "Deus et li droiz, que je i ai,  
 An cui je me fi et fiai  
 Toz tans jusqu'au jor qui est hui,  
 An soit an ale a celui,  
 Qui par aumosne et par franchise  
 Se *porofre* de mon servise,  
 Si ne set il, qui je me sui,  
 Ne ne me conoist ne je lui."  
 (Yvain, 5983-90.)

De la bataille se vont tuit *porofrant*,  
 Mes l'amiranz se tint mu et tesant,  
 Con Gadifer se dreça en estant.  
 (Les Narbonnais, 4587-89.)

*Porpoier* (cf. *parpaier*), to pay entirely:

Por le prix de sex livres de la moneye corrant des queus le dit vendeor se tint  
 devant nous bien *porpaie*.

(Godefroy)

*Porpayer* ses debtes.

(Ibid.)

Ils n'ont entierement *porpayez* leur rente, etc.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal derivative *porpaise*.

*Porparler* (cf. *parparler*), to discuss, deliberate, inquire into:

E dès que nos avrons leisir  
 D'aler en l'ost e de venir,  
 Si porrons donc apareillier,  
 Faire, parler e porchacier  
 Com ceste uevre seitachee,  
 Que nos avons ci *porparlee*.  
 (Le Roman de Troie, 24765-70.)

Icist Ditis nos fait certains,  
 Saveir li quel des citeains  
*Porparlerent* la traison.

(Ibid., 24405-7.)  
 "Sire," fait il, "entent a mei,  
 la fin avon ci *porparlee*,  
 si deit bien estre recordee."  
 (Eneas, 6792-94.)

Bien ofre a faire la bataille  
 Ki l'autre jor fu *porparlee*.  
 (Ibid., 7738-39.)  
 La vunt sedeir cil kis deivent cumbatre.

Bien sunt malét par jugement des autres  
 -Sil *purparlat* Ogiers de Denemarche-  
 E puis demandent lur chevals et lur armes.  
 (La Chanson de Roland, 3854-57.)  
 "Par Dieu, E., ta mort ai désirée;  
 "A cest branc nu est toute *porpalte*."  
 (Raoul de Cambrai, 3002-3.)

Et aloient ja *porparlant*, de quel mort il le feroient morir.  
 (Aucassin et Nicolette, p. 12, l. 15.)  
 Un tirant fist mal e hunte  
 E grant turment e martire  
 A un home ki dust dire,  
 Queus hom *purparla* sa mort;  
 Turment li fist fier e fort.

(Simund de Freine, Le Roman de Phil., 774-78.)  
 Por ce aient il renoié D6,  
 Tant ont mon enui *pourparle*  
 Qu'a paine verraiachevé  
 Le penser qui d'amours m'esprent.  
 (Chansons de Gace Brulé, XVIII, 37-40.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porparlance*, *porparlement*, and *porparleor*.  
*Porpenser* (cf. *parpenser*), to meditate, consider, reflect, imagine; also *reflexive*:

A *porpenser* or se prist  
 qu'esprouvera son ami,  
 s'il l'aime si com il dist.  
 (Aucassin et Nicolette, p. 23, ll. 9-11.)

Ele se comenca a *porpenser* del conte Garin de Biaucaire qui de mort le  
 haoit, . . . . .  
 (Ibid., p. 16, ll. 7-8.)

*Porpensa sei que jugement*  
 ne fera pas hastivement  
 senz grant *porpens*, et rova lor,  
 a lui reviegnent al tierz jor,  
 si s'en sera mielz *porpenses*.  
 (Eneas, 125-29.)

Pur deu vos pri: bien seiez *purpens*!  
 De cols ferir de receivre et duner!  
 (La Chanson de Roland, 1177-78.)

Donc *se porpense* del siecle ad en avant.  
 (La Vie de Saint Alexis, str. VIII, l. 38.)  
 Con *se porpanse*, si parla en oiant;  
 Bernart apela, que il vit en estant.  
 (Les Narbonnais, 2797-98.)  
 Soz ciel n'a cuer qui *porpensasi*,  
 Ne n'a boche qui devisast

Les beautes ne les resplendors  
 A la meins bele d'els dous.  
 (Le Roman de Troie, 14627-30.)  
 Tristan se prent a *purpenser*  
 Que il s'en vait vilenement,  
 Quant ne set ne quei ne coment  
 A la refne Ysolt estait,  
 Ne que Brengvein la fraunce fait.

(Thomas, Tristan, 1764-68.)

Lors se comance a *porpanser*  
 D'un hardemant mout perilleus  
 Et d'un vice mout merveilleus.  
 (Cligés, 1832-34.)

Mais or oiés, baron, de quel afaire  
*Se porpensa* li marcis deboinaire,  
 Dont les larrons fera estre a messaise.

(Le Moniage Guillaume, seconde rédaction, 716-18.)

*Porpanse soi* qu'il porra faire,  
 Con la porra a soi atraire,  
 Car n'ose aler en sa contree.

(La Folie Tristan, p. 87, ll. 51-53.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porpens* (Eneas, 127, quoted above), *porpense*, *porpensement* (substantive and adverb), and *porpensif*.

*Porpiller*<sup>1</sup> (cf. *parpiller*), to tread upon, trample:

Recueillier ses povres vestemens *porpilles* deça et dela par terre dessoubz les pies des autres.

(Godefroy)

*Porplaider*, to discuss, explain:

La traison a oi *porplaider*.  
 (Godefroy)

*Porplanter*, to plant, cover completely:

Mais les gemmes funt grant luurs,  
 Dum *purplantez* estoit li murs.  
 (Godefroy)

Gardin et hiretaige auqué et *pourplanté* de vingnolles et pluiseurs arbres portant fruit.

(Ibid.)

Lors jette ses yeulx au comble du temple et voyt tout en icelle maniere que le sions estoit *pourplanté* de glayves, le ciel en estoit pourpendu.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal derivative *porplantement*.

*Porpoindre*, to cover (probably with some kind of quilted material or the like):

<sup>1</sup>Reminds one of Fr. *éparpiller*.

Pour une journee du recouvreur et d'un autre avecques lui qui *pourpoindrent* la maison J. de la M.

(Godefroy)

*Past part., porpoint, embroidered:*

Remés est en un suqueton

*Porpoint* d'un vermeil ciclaton.

(Le Roman de Troie, 10227-28.)

Et Guivrez, qui mout les conjot,

De coutes *porpointes* qu'il ot

Fist un lit feire haut et lonc.

(Erec et Enide, 5141-43.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porpointe*, *pourpoint* (cf. also *parpointe* and *parpoint*), *porpoigneur*, *porpoignier*, and *porpoindor*.

*Porpointier*, to embroider, stitch:

Ce hourt est fait de paille longue entre toilles fort *porpoinctees* de cordes de fouet.

(Godefroy)

Sur une coiste de samin taint en escarlate *pourpoinctee* de fil d'or et de fil d'argent.

(Ibid.)

*Porporter*, to carry:

De courre par la vile *pourportant* sa keneule.

(Godefroy)

Nus chapelier de feutre ne puet *pourporter* ses denrees par Paris.

(Ibid.)

*Figuratively*, to show, signify, present, require:

Solom ceo qe lour chartre roiale le *purporte*.

(Ibid.)

Faites le venir en vostre presence, si orres coment il *porportera* son claim contre lui.

(Ibid.)

U tu li feras sa dreiture,

Ceo que li fieus quiert e *porporte*,

U ja ta terre n'iert si forte

Qu'il ne t'i vienge querre e prendre.

(Ibid.)

Cf. the verbal substantives *porport* and *porportant*. Cf. also English *purport* (verb and substantive).

*Porprendre* (cf. *parprendre*), to occupy, seize, take possession of:

Prenez mil Frans de France nostre tere,

Si *purprenez* les destreiz e les tertres.

(La Chanson de Roland, 804-5.)

De la contree unt *porprises* les parz.

(Ibid. 3332.)

Il a fait traire sus le pont,  
as bretesches montent amont  
et *porprenent* le hericon.

(Eneas, 3723-25.)

Veient Jerusalem, une citet antive:  
Li jorz fut bels et cler; herberges ont *porprises*.  
(Karls Reise, 109-10.)

Soz Babiloine *porprainent* lor estal.  
(La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne, 660.)

Tot ont *porpris* la cité et lo borg,  
La forteresce et la plus haute tor.  
(Ibid., 1571-72.)

Des rues ont toz les auvenz *porpris*.  
(Les Narbonnais, 1943.)

Nepurquant en cele quarte  
Ewe duce e mer i parte,  
E gastine ensement  
De la quarte part *purprent*.

(Simund de Freine, le Roman de Phil., 937-40.)

Outre Tamise est l'oz alee:  
Li un *porpranent* la vallée  
Et li autre montent l'angarde.  
(Cligés, 1491-93.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porprenance*, *porprenement* (cf. also *parprendement*), *porpressure*, *porprise* (cf. also *parprise*), *porprison* (cf. also *parprison*), and *porpresture*.  
Cf. English *purpresture* and *purprise*.

*Porquerre*, to seek, search for:

Preu i aras qant l'amor i *porqiers*.  
(Raoul de Cambrai, 5652.)

“Malades sui: s'or ne *porquier*  
“Aucun conseil qui m'ait mestier,  
“Morz sui en fin, jol sai e sent.  
(Le Roman de Troie, 17729-31.)

Or vient quaresmes, une sainte saison,  
Pasque florie et la Surrection,  
Qu'il nos covient *porquerre* garison  
Et des vlandes de coi vivre puisson.

(Le Moniage Guillaume, seconde rédaction, 325-28.)

S'enor et vostre volanté  
*Porquis*, se Deus me doint santé!  
(Yvain, 3659-60.)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porquise*.

*Porseignier*, to mark with the sign of the cross, bless:

Et apila les evesques et les archevesques del pais et lour dist: Signour, il convient que *poursingnies* et benissies ces sieges ou cil preudoume serront.

(Merlin, II, 67, Paris & Ulrich.)

Dont *poussigna* Sains Leurens Lucille et apres prist aigue en un vaissel et si dist: Toutes ces coses sont lavees par confession.

(Godefroy)

Icelui jor que le rois dut couchier,

.II. arceveskes i ot a *porseignier*.

(Ibid.)

*Porsuire*, to pursue, seek, persecute:

Par la bataille le *porsient*:

Se mort porchace e quiert e vueut.

(Le Roman de Troie, 11599-600.)

Par tant s'en est apercellz

Volcens, si les a *porseils*.

(Eneas, 5121-22.)

Quant nous somes aux bonnes villes,

Nous faisons les freres frapars;

Mais aux champs droictz demy liepars

A *poursuyoir* filles et femmes.

(Recueil général des Sotties, III, p. 95, ll. 229-32.)

Haterel *poursievant* derriere,

Sans poil, blanc et gros de maniere,

Sour le cote un peu repliant.

(Adam le Bossu, Le Jeu de la Feuillée, 126-28.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *poursuit*, *poursuite* (cf. English *pursuit*), *poursuance*, *poursuivement*, *poursuivor*, *poursuivable*, etc.

*Porsoignier*, to care for, watch over:

Si fu ladicte ville de Bethune si bien defendue et *poursongnee* que les Flamans n'y conquistrent riens.

(Godefroy)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porsoin*.

*Porsoldre* (cf. *parsoudre*), to pay entirely:

Et se de nient l'en defaloit, de quanque chi est dit et deviset. . . . . jou li renderoie et *porsorroie* tout le domage qu'il i aroit par me defaute.

(Godefroy)

Et de cest aquest est li sires Thierris bien paiez et *porsols*.

(Ibid.)

A renoncié a exception de monnoie non eue, non receue, non a li paie et *poursolue*.

(Ibid.)

*Portaster*, to feel, sound, examine:

Ele le *portasta*, et trova qu'il avoit l'espaulle hors du liu.

(Auccassin et Nicolette, p. 31, l. 10.)

Il le taste et retaste, *portaste*.

(Godefroy)

Et de son doit propre atouchoit  
Et *pourtaoit* la maladie.

(Ibid.)

*Portenir*, to possess, keep, preserve:

Aitevus icil meesame peccheur e abundant el siecle *portindrent* richeises.  
(Godefroy)

Quicunque maisons, champs ou autres possessions de borgois *aura* acquis ou  
*portenu*, il par raison des choses acquises ou *portenues*, doit faire. . . .  
(Ibid.)

*Portracier*, to seek:

Cele Fresonde pourkaça  
Par son engin et *pourtraça*  
Que Celpris estranla Wassonte.  
(Godefroy)

*Portraitier*, to seek, contrive, conclude; to pursue:

Mere Deu, la pais *portraitas*.  
(Godefroy)

Del achat de Bulhon *fut* li fait *portraities*.

(Ibid.)

Mais il *fut portraities*,  
Par un sien varlet propre astoit il espies.  
(Ibid.)

*Porvanter* (act. and reflex.), to extol, boast excessively:

Trestuz despisent autri dis  
E *purvient* les bons escriz.  
(Godefroy)

(II) *se pourventoit* ordinairement qu'il luy mangeroit plustost tout son bien.  
(Ibid.)

*Porveoir*, to examine, be careful of, provide, make provision for:

Il sevent bien que il *porveient*.  
(Le Roman de Troie, 19940.)

A honte, a mal e a dolor  
E a eissil e a torment  
E a peril de tote gent  
Seront livré: li deu l'otreient,  
Qu'ensi l'esguardent e *porveient*.  
(Ibid., 27216-20.)

E si Deu ki tut *purveit*  
Seit ki al ciel venir deit,  
Cil ne purrad faillir mie  
D'aver pardurable vie.

(Simund de Freine, Le Roman de Phil., 1543-46.)

La manére *purvi* er  
Coment jol frai deviēr.

(Ibid., *Vie de Saint Georges*, 1579-80.)

Uns siens chevaliers qui *porvit*  
La letre, si li a lette. . . . .

(*Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, 1013-14.)

De luin a luin vunt cheminant  
E la rocte al rei *pureant*.

(Thomas, *Tristan*, 1211-12.)

Cf. the verbal derivatives *porveance*, *porveement*, *porveor*, *porveable*, *porveablement*, etc. Cf. also English *purvey*, *purview*, *purveyance*, and *purveyor*.

*Porviler* (-*villir*), to abuse, insult:

Il se commencha a blasmer et a hounir et a *pourvillir* et dire a soi meismes.

(*Merlin*, II, 170, Paris & Ulrich.)

Les desloiaus, les larreneses qui ensi ont mou(t) escu avilleni et *porvillie*.

(Ibid., II, 235.)

Cf. the verbal substantive *porvil*.

*Pourbouillier*, -*bouillir* (cf. *parboillir*), to boil thoroughly:

Apres lui fust la teste copee et escartee et tous les autres seigneurs aussi et *pourbouillies*.

(Godefroy)

Hericot de mouton. Despeciez le par petites pieces, puis le mettez *pourbouilir*.

(Ibid.)

Il est leans plus rechigné

Que n'est ung regnard *pourbouilly*.

(Ibid.)

*Pourcevoir* (cf. Latin *percipio*), to see, perceive:

Quand *pourceurent* l'ensagne.

(Godefroy)

*Pourestendre*, reflex. (cf. *parestendre*), to extend:

Jusques au lieu ouquel nous avimes propose de fonder et faire un arc de pierre qui se *pourestendist* oultre le Deule.

(Godefroy)

Com il se *pourestant* (le bois) jusques au bonnes que je i ai fait mettre.

(Ibid.)

*Pourfumer*, to perfume.

There must have been an Old French *parfumer*, as indicated by the verbal derivatives *parfumaison*, *parfumement*, *parfumier*, though it is not found. It is interesting to compare the form of this word in the other Romance Languages: Italian has *profumare*, while Spanish shows *perfumar*.

Et facent *pourfumer* leur lis et leur cambres de linaloës, de mirre.

(Godefroy)

*Purchargir*, to load completely:

La gent des Cinc Ports et de Bayonne et autres de la marine d'Engleterre et d'Irlande, alierent a Burdeaux a vendeges, *purchargir* marchandement, si come ils

soloient faire, . . . . les maistres de la navie d'Engleterre, de Bayonne, d'Irlande ne se voloient mie *purchassir*, mais pur la doute des Normans ne se char- gerent fors que a la moyté.

(Godefroy)

### SUMMARY

To sum up: from the foregoing classifications, we see that the most usual force of the prefix *por-* in Old French was its intensive one, assumed through its confusion with the prefix *par-*. Of the seventy-three verbs which have been classified, I have registered twenty-two in which it means *forth, out, before*, and fifty-one in which it has the intensive force of *par-*.

Therefore, comparing *por-* with its Latin ancestor *pro-*, it is evident (1) that the former lost, to a considerable extent, the characteristic signification of *forth, out, before*, of the latter; and (2) that the confusion with the prefix *par-* was so considerable as to extend its influence to more than two-thirds of the verbal compounds with *por-*, thereby making the intensive force of *por-* its most usual one.

It is interesting to note that, of the only seven Old French verbs which came into Modern French with the prefix *por-*, one retains the idea of forth: *portraire*, "représenter"; and six retain the intensive force: *pourchasser*, "poursuivre avec ardeur," *pourfendre*, "fendre complètement," *pourparler* (a substantive in Modern French), "conférence en vue de se mettre d'accord," *pourpenser*, "méditer longuement," *poursuivre*, "suivre de près pour atteindre quelqu'un ou pour obtenir quelque chose," and *pourvoir*, "aviser aux mesures nécessaires, mettre en possession de ce qui est nécessaire."

### SPECIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS CASES

#### 1. PARFONT

The adjective *parfont* is another case of the confusion of *por-* and *par-*, which has already been discussed at length. French inherits from Latin *profond*, 'deep,' and *fond*, 'bottom.' It seemed necessary to the speakers to establish relations between the two words, and the apparent one was that the *fond* of *profond* meant the adjective sense most analogous to 'bottom'—which was 'deep,' thus creating a synonym of the Latin compound *profundus*. This made *pro-* absolutely unintelligible, and it remained only to change it to *par-* to produce a

satisfactory form; thus we have the resulting *parfont* with its sense of *deep*, *very deep*. It is worthy of note that the meaning was perforce altered with the form. With the enlightenment of the 16th Century, the word resumed not only its original form *profond*, but also its original meaning, *deep*. It will be observed that the Latin has both a *profundere* and a *perfundere*, with similar meanings. Old French has a *profonder* and a *profondir*; a *parfonder*, a *parfondir*, and a *parfondre*, also with similar meanings.

Examples of *parfont* are numerous in Old French; I quote a few of them:

Et pregnet une cuve qui seit grande et *parfonde*  
Si la facet raser de si que as espondes.  
(Karls Reise, 569-70.)

Et ele garda contreval si vit le fossé mout *parfont* et mout roide s'ot mout grant paor.

(Aucassin et Nicolette, p. 20, ll. 9-11.)

Des pastoriaux se part tost  
si entra el *parfont* bos.

(Ibid., p. 27, §23, ll. 4-5.)  
Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant,  
Li val *parfunt* e les ewes curanz.

(La Chanson de Roland, 1830-31.)  
Passent cez puis et cez roches plus haltes,  
Cez *parfuns* vals, cez destreiz anguisables.

(Ibid., 3125-26.)  
Quant nes veient, si ont grant dote  
que mers *parfonde* nes transgloite.

(Eneas, 303-4.)  
Et par dessoz a la reonde  
Coroit une eve mout *parfonde*. . . . .

(Erec et Enide, 5373-74.)  
Ours ce gist an la chartre, qu'est *parfonde* et  
antie.

(Orson de Beauvais, 287.)  
Puis en alas enz el desert *parfont*.

(La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne, 1468.)  
Grant est li eve et *parfont* sont li bié.  
(La Prise de Cordres et de Sebille, 1330.)

Halt sunt li mur et *parfont* li fosé.

(Ibid., 1522.)

## 2. THE PREPOSITION *Por-* IN COMPOSITION

I have listed below certain words beginning with *por-*, where presumably we have to deal with the preposition rather than the prefix. These words<sup>1</sup> are mentioned only lest the reader might wonder at not finding them fully treated; but we are dealing with the prefix *por-* and not the preposition.

### 1. The preposition *por* in composition with nouns.

*Pourcens*, -sans, a kind of tax; *cens*, in modern French, is the tax payable in order to be an elector and eligible for election.

*Porconte* (*pourcompte*), settlement of an account.

*Porfin*, end.

*Pourmal*, malice, grudge.

*Pourpal*, bar of a carriage to which the horses' traces are attached.

*Porpartie*, share of an inheritance.

*Pourseule*, -sseule, part of a door or wall.

*Porterrien*, -terrier, tenant, farmer.

*Pourtour* (*portouer*), circumference, circular gallery.

In the case of some of these words, we cannot be sure that we have not the derivative of a lost verb; the sense is our only indication, and that is by no means final. Neither, for that matter, are we sure that some of the verbs already treated are not, themselves, formations on the preposition in composition with a substantive. Yet it is evident that, the moment the verb comes into existence, *por*-must be regarded as a prefix, even though but secondarily.

### II. The preposition *por* in composition with pronouns.

*Poroec*, adv., therefore, on account of that, in exchange for that. For its use in such expressions as *aller poroec* (*aller chercher*) and *envoyer poroec* (*envoyer chercher*), in which the second element is lost sight of, cf. G. Paris, Rom. VI, 588-90.

*Por quoi*, *pourquoi*, conjunc., for which, for which reason. It is used also as a substantive and as an interrogative adverb.

### III. The preposition *por* in composition with adjectives.

*Porquant*, adv., on account of that, however; cf. the negative *ne porquant*, nevertheless.

*Portant*, adv., on account of that, therefore; cf. *portant que*, because, provided that, and the negative *ne portant*, nevertheless, in spite of that.

## 3. VERBAL DERIVATIVES

The following are ostensibly examples of words which, in the Old French period, were understood as verbal derivatives. Whether they

<sup>1</sup>Cf. also Modern French *pourboire*, in which *pour* is the preposition.

were really derivatives of *pourfigurer* and *permoldre* which have left no trace, or whose traces have not yet been discovered, or whether they were formed by analogy to existing derivatives of other words, it would be vain to assume.

*Pourfiguracion*, representation:

Que convenable chose fut que Jesus Christ ne ressuscitast pas tantost come il fust mort, mais atendist jusques au tiers jour, . . . . . pour la *pourfiguracion* des choses a restorer. . . . .

(Godefroy)

*Pourmolement*, grinding, crushing:

Tant pour le blé du pain que pour le *pourmolement* du molin.

(Godefroy)

### WORDS WITH BOTH *PRO-* AND *POR-* IN OLD FRENCH

In Old French there were certain words which had both *pro-* and *por-*: some, on the one hand, whose usual prefix was *por-*, and a few, on the other hand, which usually had *pro-*. With the revival of learning in the 16th Century, the scholarly classes were frequently moved to choose the form with *pro-* of words which had both *pro-* and *por-*. The struggle between the two, however, was not always in favor of *pro-*, for we find a small number of words which in the early tongue had enjoyed both prefixes, and were bequeathed to the modern vocabulary with only *por-*.

The following list will show the words which had both prefixes in Old French (the first form mentioned being the more frequent):

- porceinte and proceinte
- procession and porcession
- processionnal and pourcessionnal
- ourcevoir and prochevoir
- porchacier and prochacier
- porchas and prochas
- porcors and procours
- procurer and pourcurer
- porfendre and profendre
- porferir and proferir
- porfil and profil
- porfileure and profileure
- profitance and pourfitance
- profitant and pourfitant
- profitos and porfitous

porforcement and proforcement  
porforcier and proforcer  
porgarder and progarder  
porgene and pourgine  
porgetement and projetement  
porgeter and progeter  
porloignement and proloignement  
porloignier and proloignier  
porlongance and prolongance  
porlongement and prolongement  
porlongier and prolonger  
pormenement and promenement  
pormener and promener  
pormeneur and promeneur  
pormenoir and promenoir  
prometement and purmettement  
promovoir and pourmovoir  
prononcier and pornonchier  
poroferte and proferte  
pouroff and profe  
porofrir and profrir  
porparler and proparler  
porpens and propens  
porpenser and propenser  
porport and propourt  
porporter and proporter  
proportionner and porporcionner  
propos and porpost  
propostement and porposement  
proposer and porposer  
porprendre and proprendre  
prosecucion and porsequution  
porsivre and prosivre  
porsuivance and prosuiance  
portendre and pretendre  
portraire and protraire  
portrait and protrait  
portraiture and protraiture  
porveable and proveuable  
porveance and proveance  
provenir and pourvenir  
porveoir and provoir  
porveor and proveur  
provision and pourvision  
provoquement and porvochement

## THE FATE OF THE FOREGOING WORDS

Of the foregoing pairs of words, sixty in number, thirty-one were lost to Modern French, eighteen came in with *pro-*, and eleven with *por-*.

Those resulting in *pro-* are the following:

- procession
- processionnal
- procurer
- porfil (Mod. Fr. profil)
- profitant
- porgeter (Mod. Fr. projeter)
- porlongement (Mod. Fr. prolongement)
- porlongier (Mod. Fr. prolonger)
- promener (Mod. Fr. promener)
- gormeneur (Mod. Fr. promeneur)
- pormenoir (Mod. Fr. promenoir)
- promovoir (Mod. Fr. promouvoir)
- prononcier (Mod. Fr. prononcer)
- proportionner
- propos
- proposer
- provenir
- provision

The following have resulted in *por-*.

- porchacier (Mod. Fr. pourchasser)
- porchas (Mod. Fr. pourchas)
- porfendre (Mod. Fr. pourfendre)
- porparler (Mod. Fr. pourparler, *substantive*)
- porpenser (Mod. Fr. pourpenser)
- porsivre (Mod. Fr. poursuivre)
- portraire
- portrait
- portraiture
- porveior (Mod. Fr. pourvoir)
- porveor (Mod. Fr. pourvoyeur)

It will be observed that the words in Old French occurring more frequently with *pro-* have resulted in *pro-* in Modern French; and likewise, those having *por-* more frequently in Old French have resulted in *por-* in Modern French, in the majority of cases. No doublets analogous to English *purpose* and *propose* have come into Modern French: a choice has been made distinctly for one prefix or the other.

WORDS WITH *PRO*<sup>1</sup> IN OLD FRENCH

The following is a list of *pro-* words in Old French:

*provenir*, *to arrive, happen, occur*;  
*procédance*, *procedure, process*;  
*procédement* (subst. & adv.), *manner of proceeding, procedure; successively, in succession*;  
*procéder*, *-cedir, to advance, proceed; proceed against some one at law*;  
*procédous*, *litigious*;  
*procédure*, *procedure*;  
*procès*, *development, progress, suit (at law)*;  
*processer*, *to pursue, march in procession*;  
*processif*, *relating to suits*;  
*procession*, *procession*;  
*processionnaire*, *-nier (adj. & subst.), relating to processions; processional*;  
*processionnairement*, *in procession*;  
*processionnal* (adj. & subst.), *relating to processions; processional*;  
*processionnel*, *relating to processions*;  
*processionnellement*, *in procession*;  
*processure*, *action, procedure*;  
*processus*, *extension or prolongation of some part (zoological term)*;  
*procidence*, *procidence*;  
*proclamat*, *proclamation*;  
*proclamation*, *proclamation*;  
*proclamer*, *to proclaim*;  
*proclameur*, *proclaimer*;  
*proclif*, *inclined, leaning forward*;  
*proclivement* (adv.), *following one's inclination*;  
*proclivité*, *proclivity, inclination*;  
*procrastination*, *procrastination*;  
*procrastiner*, *to procrastinate*;  
*procréateur* (adj.), *begetting, producing*;  
*procréation*, *procreation*;  
*procréative* (subst.), *faculty of reproducing*;  
*procreer*, *to procreate, beget*;  
*procumber*, *to be overturned, bend over*;  
*procural*, *concerning procuration, power*;  
*procureur*, *agent, attorney, solicitor*;  
*procuration*, *procuration, acquisition; office of purveyor of a convent*;  
*procurotaire*, *concerning procuration*;

<sup>1</sup>Words beginning with Greek *pro-* and *proto-*, and also words in which the meaning of the prefix has vanished, have been omitted from this list and the following ones.

procure, *procuration*;  
 procurement, *procurement*;  
 procureur, *agent, attorney, solicitor*;  
 procurer, *to procure*;  
 procurour, *precursor, forerunner*;  
 producteur (subst. & adj.), *guide, conductor; productive*;  
 productif, *productive*;  
 production, *production, proposition*;  
 produire, *to produce*;  
 produisable, *producible*;  
 produiseur, *productive*;  
 produit, *product*;  
 proeminence, *prominence, projection*;  
 proeminent, *prominent, projecting*;  
 profectice, *coming by succession*;  
 profection, *profaction, advance*;  
 profectional, *relating to advancement*;  
 proference, *pronunciation; revenue, product*;  
 proferer, *to prefer, utter*;  
 profession, *profession, declaration*;  
 proficiscent (adj.), *setting out, departing*;  
 profil, *profile*;  
 profiler, *to profile*;  
 profiser, *to border, hem*;  
 profiter, *to advance, make progress*;  
 profond (adj. & subst.), *deep; depth*;  
 profondece, *depth*;  
 profondement, *deeply*;  
 profonder, *-dir, to deepen, search into, sound*;  
 profondeur, *depth*;  
 profondissement (subst.), *deepening, sounding, fathoming*;  
 profondissime, *very deep*;  
 profondit , *depth*;  
 profondure, *depth*;  
 profrer (reflex.), *to offer or present one's self*;  
 profuge, *refuge*;  
 profugue (subst.), *fugitive*;  
 profus, *profuse*;  
 profusement, *profusely*;  
 profuseur, *squanderer*;  
 progene, -genic, *progeny, offspring*;  
 progeniel, *genetical*;  
 progenier, *to beget, engender*;  
 progeniter, *to beget, engender*;

progeniteur, *progenitor, ancestor*;  
progres, *progress*;  
progreesse, *progress, progression*;  
progressif, *progressive*;  
progression, *progression*;  
prohabiter, *to inhabit, live in*;  
proignier, *to layer (vines), increase*;  
proindivis, *undivided*;  
projection, *projection*;  
projectoire, *laxative*;  
projection, *horizontal projection* (architectural term);  
projet, *projection, project*;  
projeter, *to project, plan*;  
prolation, *prolation, utterance*;  
prolixe, *prolix*;  
prolixement, *prolixity*;  
prolixité, *prolixity*;  
prolocuteur, *orator, lawyer*;  
prolocution, *discourse*;  
prolong, *delay, postponement*;  
prolongation, *prolongation, protraction*;  
prolongeur, *prolonger*;  
prolongie, *delay*;  
prolongier, *to prolong, extend, retard*;  
prolude, *prelude*;  
promain, *promenade, walk*;  
promenade, *promenade, walk*;  
promener, *to take out, lead about*;  
promeneur, *walker, pedestrian, rider*;  
promenoir, *walk, promenade*;  
promerir, *to merit, deserve*;  
promesse, *promise*;  
prometage, *promise*;  
prometement, *promise*;  
prometteur, -meteresse, *one who promises*;  
promettre, *to promise, command*;  
prominent, *projecting*;  
promission, *promise, prolongation*;  
promontoire, *promontory*;  
promoter, *to urge (some one) to do something*;  
promoteur, *promoter*;  
promotion, *promotion*;  
promouvoir, -movoir, *to promote, advance, propose*;  
promovement, *instigation*;

promover, *to raise, elevate;*  
 promoveur, *promoter;*  
 promulgateur, *promulgator;*  
 promulgation, *promulgation;*  
 promulguer, *to promulgate;*  
 permutation, *change, permutation;*  
 prononçable, *pronounceable;*  
 prononce, *pronunciation;*  
 prononcement, *sentence, decision, pronunciation;*  
 prononceur, *pronouncer;*  
 proncial, *pronounced;*  
 pronunciation, *pronunciation, judgment, decision;*  
 prononcier, -cer, *to pronounce, declare;*  
 proorder, *to begin to speak;*  
 propagateur, *propagator;*  
 propagation, *propagation;*  
 propager, *to propagate;*  
 propaginer, *to propagate;*  
 propension, *propensity, inclination;*  
 proponement, *project, design;*  
 proporcionalibilité, *proportion;*  
 proporcionalable, *proportionate;*  
 proporcionalablement, *proportionally;*  
 proportion, *proportion;*  
 proportionnalité, *proportionableness;*  
 proportionnement, *proportionally;*  
 proportionnel, *proportionate;*  
 proportionnement, *proportioning;*  
 proportionner, *to proportion;*  
 propos, *resolution, design, purpose;*  
 proposant, *proposer, propounder;*  
 proposé (subst. & adj.), *proposition; resolved, decided;*  
 proposition (subst. & adv.), *intention, design, resolution; designedly, calmly;*  
 proposer, *to propose, project, maintain;*  
 proposeur, *narrator, propounder;*  
 proposition, *proposition, resolution;*  
 propugnacle, *rampart, defensive work;*  
 propugnateur, *defender;*  
 propugnatoire, *retrenchment, defense;*  
 prorogation, *prorogation, prolongation, delay;*  
 prorogement, *prorogation;*  
 proroger, *to prolong, delay;*  
 prompire, *to rush forward, spread out;*  
 proscription, *proscription;*  
 proscrire, *to proscribe;*

prosecuter, *to pursue, prosecute*;  
prosecucion, *pursuit*;  
prosecutif, *connected, consecutive*;  
prosequer, *to pursue, seek*;  
prosillier, *to dash, rush forward*;  
prospect, *prospect, aspect, view*;  
prospectif (adj.), *prospective*;  
prospective (subst.), *perspective, view*;  
prosternant, *prostrating*;  
prosternation, *prostration, obeisance*;  
prosternement, *prostration*;  
prosterner, *to destroy, overthrow; to prostrate, bow*;  
prosterneur, *conqueror*;  
prostituer, *to prostitute*;  
prostitution, *prostitution*;  
prostracion, *prostration*;  
protecter, *to protect*;  
protecteur, *protector*;  
protection, *protection*;  
protéger, *to protect*;  
protelation. *delay*;  
proteler, *to delay, prolong*;  
protest, *protestation*;  
protestant (adj. & subst.), *protesting; protestant*;  
protestation, *protestation*;  
portestatoire, *relating to a protestation*;  
protester, *to protest, declare*;  
protesteur, *protester*;  
protraction, *representation, delay*;  
protuberant, *protuberant*;  
provain, *young shoot, sprout (of plants, vines)*;  
proveaille, *provision*;  
provenance, *origin, source*;  
provenir, *to arrive, happen; to belong*;  
provent, *product*;  
provide, *prudent, provident*;  
providement, *providently*;  
providence, *providence, foresight*;  
provident, *provident, prudent*;  
provignable, *that which can be layered (of plants, vines)*;  
provignement, *layering (of vines, etc.)*;  
provigneur, *layerer (of vines, etc.)*;  
provigneure, *progeny, offspring*;  
provignier, *to multiply by small sprouts*;  
proviser, *to direct, administer*;

proviseur, *director, administrator*;  
 provision, *provision, foresight*;  
 provisionnel, *provisional*;  
 provisionner, *to stock, supply*;  
 provisionneur, *partner*;  
 provisoire, *provisional*;  
 provocateur, -*teresse*, *provoker, instigator*;  
 provocatif, *provoking*;  
 provocation, *provocation*;  
 provocatoire, *provoking*;  
 provoquement, *provocation, instigation*;  
 provoquer, *to provoke*;  
 provoqueur, *provoker, instigator*;  
 provulgation, *proclamation*;  
 provulguer, *to proclaim, divulge*.

#### WORDS WITH PRO- WHICH HAVE COME OVER INTO MODERN FRENCH

The following is a list of *pro-* words which have come over into Modern French:

procéder	produit
procédure	proéminence
procès	proéminent
processif	proférer
procession	profession
processionnaire	profil
processional	profilier
processionnel	profond
processionnellement	profondément
processus	profondeur
proclamation	profusément
proclamer	progrès
proclivité	progressif
procréateur	progression
procréation	projection
procréer	projecture
procureur	projet
procuration	projeter
procurer	prolixe
procureur	prolixement
producteur	prolixité
productif	prolongation
production	prolongement
produire	prolonger

promenade	prorogation
promener	proroger
promeneur	proscription
promenoir	proscire
promesse	prosternation
prometteur	prosternement
promettre	prosterner
prominent	prostituer
promission	prostitution
promontoire	prostration
promoteur	protecteur
promotion	protection
promouvoir	protéger
promulgation	protestant
promulguer	protestation
prononçable	protester
prononcer	protêt
prononciation	protubérant
propagateur	provenance
propagation	provenir
propager	providence
propension	provignement
proportion	provigner
proportionnalité	provin
proportionnel	proviseur
proportionnément	provision
proportionner	provisionnel
propos	provisoire
proposant	provocateur
proposer	provocation
proposition	provoquer

NEW WORDS WITH *PRO-* IN MODERN FRENCH

The following list comprises the new words with *pro-* in Modern French:

procédé	procoseur
protectif	prospectus
professer	prostituteur
profusion	protectionniste
progéniture	protectorat
progresser	protestantisme
progressivement	protubérance
projectile	protuteur
prominence	providentiel
prominer	providentiellement
propagande	provisionnellement
proposable	provisoirement
propulseur	provisorat
propulsion	provisorerie
prorogatif	provocant
proscripteur	

I find that throughout the whole period the prefix *pro-* is essentially learned; that it does not share, to any great extent, the tendency to the confusion with *par-*. It is interesting to observe the growth of *pro-* with the diffusion of learning; in short, of the words with both prefixes in Old French which came into Modern French, we find 62% specializing to *pro-* (in comparison with 38% in the case of *por-*), 48% of the Old French exclusively *pro-* words surviving (in comparison with 8½% in the case of *por-*), and 31 new words introduced with *pro-*, a thing which manifestly occurred very rarely with *por-*: there are two new words introduced—*poursendeur* and *pourlecher*. In addition, although the number of words with *pro-* is greater in Old French than in Modern French, the numerous losses of these Old French words are due to a different cause from that which has diminished *por-*—namely, to their learned character, and consequent comparative rarity of occurrence in popular speech.

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